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by

Ⓒ REGULA BURCKHARDT QURESHI

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ABSTRACT

This thesis develops an approach to the analysis of music which incorporates the dimension of context into the analysis of musical sound. The aim is to account for the programming of music in performance. Focussing on the process of music production in performance, the assumption is tested that musical sound will vary with variations in the context of its performance. An analytical model is built on the basis of anthropology, Western musicology and Indian musicology to deal on one side with the musical sound structure and on the other with the structure of the performance occasion so that ultimately the contextual input into the music can be assessed in an analysis of the performance process.

The musical tradition analysed is Qawwali which has both a verbalized music theory and a clearly defined context of performance, the Sufi assembly. The analysis begins in Section I with a consideration of the Qawwali musical idiom, based on the perfomer's own conceptions of the music but "translated" into an analytical framework derived from Western musicology with reference to North Indian musical theory. Structurally, Qawwaly music is seen as an idiom of North Indian music, characterized by distinctive musical features derived from its religious function. A Qawwali song model is outlined but it lacks the dynamic of programming which only the performance process can account for.

As a preliminary step to analysing the performance process Section II deals with the Performance context, starting with a consideration of the background dimensions which inform it: Sufi ideology, Sufi poetry, the

socio-economic setting of Sufism and the social and professional identity of the performer. An outline of the occurrence and features of Qawwali assemblies leads into a detailed analysis of the structure of a Qawwali occasion in terms of concepts, setting and procedure.

This information, together with the music analysis, provides the frame of reference for what constitutes the core of the study: the analysis of Qawwali music in performance. Carried out in Section III, this analysis is first presented in terms of a descriptive outline of a performance, followed by an analytical examination of the interactional principles, or semantic referents, which link context and music during this process, as generated by the maker of the music, the performer. The final step in the analysis is to build these semantic referents into the musical structure and to consider the result in the light of the initial hypothesis, followed by an assessment of the implications of the analysis of other music traditions.

A comprehensive Ethnographic Section--in the form of a capsule ethnography of Qawwali at the Nizamuddin Shrine in Delhi--provides concrete exemplification for the entire argument. The ethnographic evidence is thus kept separate from the main text, in the interest of making the already complex analytical procedure as clear as possible.

PREFACE

The intention of this study is to develop for Qawwali a musical grammar which includes programming Qawwali in performance, i.e. a context sensitive grammar that should enable a musically literate reader to understand how variation in the performance of Qawwali is generated or how, abstractly, he could generate such variation himself, at least in his own mind if not actually in performance.

In substance, this intention conforms to one of the major aims pursued by anthropologists, namely to focus on systems of communication as cultural knowledge used and realized in behavioural application. This anthropological approach is best exemplified by studies of verbally articulated cultural categorizations, e.g. of disease (Frake 1961) or of colours (Conklin 1955), which draw on linguistic models as introduced by ethnoscience (Sturtevant 1964).

Here, however, this anthropological aim is directed at music, a system of sound communication with very special properties which require equally special analytical procedures. Such procedures have been developed and applied to music by musicologists. Musicology, therefore, is the proper starting point for introducing an anthropological perspective to the analysis of musical sound.

The first step is to assess how far musicological analysis can take the investigator of Qawwali music toward the goal of developing a context-sensitive musical grammar. Musicological analysis is founded in Western musical parameters and concepts, analytical methods, terminology and notation. This western-centric framework has been adapted in applications to non-Western music and expanded in response to other analytical approaches, particularly the use of indigenous music theory. The result is a flexible tool for representing musical structures in terms of Western parameters.

Indigenous music theory exists in its most developed form in Indian musicology which is based on Indian classical music and provides an analytical framework for Indian musical idioms. The compatibility between the Indian and Western musical systems has facilitated interchange between Indian and Western musicology as well as input from other Western disciplines, leading to more refined analyses of Indian musical structure. These range from a musicological model for generating the units and rules of Indian raga music (Powers 1958, 1977, ms), to an approach toward mapping out other North Indian musical idioms on the basis of distinctive features related to their function (Qureshi, 1969, 1980, 1981).

Using a western musicological base sensitized to Indian music by Indian musicology, it is now possible to analyse an Indian musical idiom such as Qawwali in terms of categories appropriate to the musical structure. Such an analysis will enable the reader to identify Qawwali music as to its musical framework, units and rules, and to distinguish it from other musical idioms on the basis of distinctive musical features.

What this musicological analysis will not do, however, is to motivate the sequencing of the musical structure, i.e. to generate or even account for the process of producing Qawwali music in performance. Yet variability in performance is one of the identifying features of this music and crucial to its very function. Clearly, the musicological model is inadequate to this task, inasmuch as it cannot account for non-musical or contextual input into the musical process.

At this poiint the alternative presents itself to analyse contextual input separately from musical structure. As examplified by Merriam (1967), such studies invariably beg the question of how those contextual features are to be related to the music itself. The answer to that question lies in approaching contextual input as a part of the total music-making process. The core of that process is musical sound; therefore the most logical approach for including contextual input into a musical analysis is to incorporate it into the musicological model itself.

The next step, then, is to expand the musicological model so that it can account analytically for all the contextual features relevant to the performance process of Qawwali music. To do this requires tools which only anthropology can supply; indeed, the entire perspective of such a model is, epistemologically speaking, an anthropological one, founded mainly on ethnoscience and situational analysis, and informed by a political economy approach.

Carrying out the analysis constitutes the remainder of the study. Starting with an analysis of Qawwali musical structure, it will proceed to show how this structure is operationalized in performance in response to contextual factors. Finally, it will conclude with a proposal for integrating contextual variation into an analytical model of Qawwali that acounts for musical process.

In sum, the goal of this thesis is theoretical, namely to solve a problem in music analysis. At the same time, the process leading to this goal entails applying a theoretical model to an ethnographic domain, the Indo-Muslim Qawwali. Throughout the analysis the Qawwali tradition is dealt with at a generalized level, whether as an abstraction from, or as a composite of, particular cases. However, I consider it essential to validate with concrete evidence what is thus presented in the abstract. This evidence is provided in the Ethnographic Section that follows the analysis and serves as a point of reference throughout. Structured to constitute an ethnographic outline of Qawwali at one major Sufi centre, the Etnographic Section also serves to introduce this musical tradition ethnographically and may be read first for that purpose.

The following capsule description of Qawwali is to provide the reader with a preliminary introduction to the musical tradition which constitutes the subject of this analysis:

Qawwali is a recognized musical genre in the Indian subcontinent. It shares general traits with the light classical music of North India and Pakistan but has unique characteristics related to its religious function. The term Qawwali itself applies both to the musical genre and to the occasion of its performance, the devotional assembly of Islamic mysticims--or Sufism-- in India and Pakistan. The practice of Qawwali extends throughout Muslim centres of the Indian subcontinent, but its roots are North Indian.

Qawwali considered as music is a group song performed by qawwals, professional musicians who perform in groups led by one or two solo singers. Qawwals present mystical poetry in Farsi, Hindi and Urdu in a fluid style of alternating solo and group passages characterized by repetition and improvisation. The vigorous drum accompaniment on the barrel-shaped dholak is reinforced by handclapping while the small portable harmonium, usually in the hands of the lead singer, underscores the song melody. A Qawwali song normally begins with an instrumental prelude on the harmonium; then an introductory verse is sung as a solo recitative without drums, leading directly into the song proper: a mystical poem set to a strophic tune and performed by the entire group of qawwals.

Qawwali considered as an occasion is a gathering for the purpose of realizing ideals of Islamic mysticism through the ritual of "listening to music" (sama'). By enhancing the message of mystical poetry and by providing a powerful rhythm suggesting the ceaseless repetition of God's name (zikr), the music of Qawwali serves a religious function: to arouse mystical love, even divine ecstasy, the core experience of Sufism. The Qawwali assembly is held under the guidance of a spiritual leader and is attended by Sufi devotees through usually open to all comers. In listening to the songs, devotees respond individually and spontaneously, but in accordance with social and religious convention, expressing states of mystical love. The musicians, on their part, structure their performance to activate and reinforce these emotions, adapting it to the changing needs of their listeners.

To the Sufi participant, Qawwali is "a method of worship" and "a means of spiritual advancement"; it is also "a feast for the soul". To the performer it is mainly a musical genre "with its distinct character among other genres;" he also defines it as "a branch of vocal music, used for worship." To the observer, finally, Qawwali is above all music performed very obviously with continual reference to its context; it is "music in context" par excellence.

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Anthropology is a discipline which seeks to uncover and to relate (Murphy 1979, I), and even the most particular inquiry in anthropology is invariably characterized by a perspective that encompasses broad theoretical or ethnographic dimensions, often crossing disciplinary boundaries. In this field, therefore--more than in the more conventional disciplines--the author assumes the onus of defining the terms for his study, both theoretically and procedurally. Formally speaking, this task belongs in the body of the study itself. But the thinking and observing of the analyst, no less than that of his informants, is conditioned by underlying assumptions specific to his cultural background and his disciplinary training. To account for these is a first step toward making as clear as possible the premises on which an anthropological study is built, especially when it has a cross-cultural dimension.

In a sense, then, this study represents an attempted synthesis of one person's anthropological thinking, applied towards the understanding of music. Because of this, and particularly because of the multiple research dimensions involved, it is appropriate to preface it with a brief consideration of what has gone into its making, by clarifying background and training and acknowledging influences, contributions and dues.

The musical thinking and perceptions underlying this thesis derive initially from a background in Western art music, comprising both professional performance and musicology. This has been augmented by the study of North Indian art music--including both performance and theory--and of non-classical music of that region, especially Muslim religious music, poetic chant, and folk music (see Qureshi 1967, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1980a, 1980b, 1981). An integrating musicological framework for my Indian music comes from the work of Harold Powers; who also generously contributed to the final editing of this thesis.

At the base of the ethnography of Qawwali lies a thorough acquaintance--based on study and participant observations--of North Indian social structure and Indo-Muslim culture. This includes fluency and literacy in Urdu and Hindi, as well as a good knowledge of Urdu poetry. For this study, a basic course in Farsi was pursued early on in the field research. Also relevant is my background knowledge of Islam and its practice in South Asia.

As for anthropology, starting from my first introduction to cultural anthropology of Sally Schneider, the Anthropology department at the University of Alberta has over the years provided sound training and continuous intellectual stimulation (as well as good fellowship), all of which has equipped me with an anthropological tool kit and the skill to use it far beyond mysic and context in Qawwali. More specifically, I owe much of my training in ethnomusicology to Michael Asch, in communication and performance to Regna Darnell, David Young, and Michael Asch, and in Social Organization and Political Economy to Michael Asch and Henry Lewis. As members of my original and present Committee they all have provided much insight and advice for this thesis for which I am grateful. Most of all I owe an intellectual debt of thanks to Michal Asch who supervised this thesis and never failed to invoke theoretical clarity and consistency on this multi-dimensional opus.

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TERMINOLOGY, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Since this thesis makes use of a variety of terminological idioms, I have attempted as far as possible to achieve semantic and orthographic consistency between them. In terms of usage, that consistency flows mainly from the fact that the Qawwali participant is always the primary source of terminology, unless specifically indicated otherwise. Terms denoting Sufi concepts are therefore presented in accordance with Indian Sufi usage and pronounciation; this includes standard Islamic terms and refers particularly to Persian forms of Arabic words. Likewise, Indian musical terminology derives from usage among Qawwali performers or, where otherwise indicated, accords with standard Indian usage in English. Consistency in transliteration is based on the use of a single comprehensive reference source which covers vocabulary of both Perso-Arabic and Hindi-Sanskrit derivation: Platt's Dictionary of Urdu and Classical Hindi (1970).

The translations of Qawwali texts were made in collaboration with Saleem M.M. Qureshi; however, I assume full responsibility for them. Musical notation, finally, follows standard Western usage; the few additional symbols are listed in the Legend and explained where they first occur.

MUSIC NOTATION: LEGEND

Symbol:	Explanation:
Staff notation scheme	Pitch and durational units corresponding to Western notation
Middle c	Systems tonic
x	Handclaps
x♪	Drum beats
A, B,	Section of tune (asthāyī/antarā)
A1, A2	First/Second half of section
A1i, A2i	Initial motive of half section
A1m, A2m	Medial motive of half section
A1f, A2f	Final motive of half section
Aalt, A1alt, A1ialt	Alternate version of section/half section/initial motive of half section
A↑, A1↑, A1i↑	Upward adjustment of ending of section/half section/initial motive
A⇑, A⤊	Alternative upward adjustments of ending, in order of increasing pitch level.
↑A	Delayed upward adjustment of preceding section modifies beginning of present section
A^e	Extension of A
A^e1, A^e2	First/Second part of extension
F	Final descending line of Adjunct Item, leading back to Song
P	Penultimate line, leading up to final line (F) in Adjunct Item
I	Insert (girah)
IA, IB	Asthāyī/antarā Section of Insert

CHAPTER 1

THE THEORETICAL APPROACH

A Frame of Reference

This thesis is concerned with music as a system of sound communication with a social use and cultural context. Such a system can be analysed in terms of its sound structure and the results may either point to universal features of music, or identify characteristics particular to cultural regions, or both. They may even lead to inferences about semantic meaning at the level of structure, i.e. relational meaning. But what analysing music in purely abstract structural terms does not provide is an understanding of the dynamic that motivates the production of music, i.e. the meaning of significance of the sound system in terms of the social use and cultural context -- referential meaning in the widest sense of the word. In order to arrive at that dimension of musical sound communication it must be analysed in terms of the culturally sensitive basis of music production.

This position has been recognized as the only valid position by anthropologists, but so far in their applications they have failed to deal satisfactorily with musical sound, either limiting its analysis to the grossest features or relying uncritically on traditional western music description, or ignoring it altogether.

At the same time, musicologists, having recognized the limitations of the western musicological framework, are expanding that framework by introducting into their descriptions of the rules of music sound perceptions of members of the particular culture. This is especially true of music in cultures were an indigenous musicological tradition already exists, such as in India. This approach adds a welcome dimension to ethnomusicology, and it is now up to the anthropologists to place this pioneering work into a wider socio-cultural perspective, by expanding the analysis of musical sound to include more of its contextual basis, thus moving closed to an understanding of the socio-cultural dynamic or "meaning" of music.

Clearly, the area where such an expansion is most immediately required is the area of performance, for the central issue of performance is how the musical sounds which musicologists can set out as abstract rules are communicated in practice. Thus the next step, it seems to me, is to generate a kind of analysis which allows us to better understand the process of production: that is, how the ideal is shaped by the actual. It is this concrete aspect of musical analysis I wish to address here.

In order to proceed in this direction, i.e. to analyse musical sound in relation to tis socio-cultural context or milieu, two key questions must be considered:

1) How to deal analytically with music sound as a self-contained rule system, and
2) How and at what level to relate context to the music sound system.

Because these two questions have generally been approached from different, if not incompatible perspectives, a duality has resulted in the products of ethnomusicological research. Though acclaimed, I consider this duality within ethnomusicology fallacious and resulting only from the inappropriate juxtaposition of the two approaches.

If the relationship of context with music is to be demonstrated, this can logically be done through one overall theoretical perspective and analytical approach which can serve both musical and contextual analysis and therefore would allow handling both questions 1) and 2) in a mutually compatible way. One such perspective comes from anthropological theory, and here I propose to use such a framework for my analysis. However, unlike early models (e.g. Merriam 1964), it specifically includes the means to analyse musical sound. For, I argue, music is a system of sound generation no less complex than language, hence it also requires a specialized analytical procedure compatible with the particular features of musical sound.

The solution is clear: On the one hand music is a culturally derived abstract system of sound relationships. As such it must be analysed as a self-contained unit. On the other hand, sound is only produced within a specific performance context. Hence it is only in performance that the competence can be tested. Yet a performance context itself is not an unchanging unit. As Merriam (1964) and later Herndon (1974) and Asch (1972, 1975) demonstrate, performance contexts vary as to content and meaning. As well, as Asch (1975) point outs, even within performance contexts such as occasions, variations can occur. Hence, in order to understand how music sound is being realized in a particular context, it is necessary to understand variation within context: that is, to have an emically derived -- or culture-specific -- basis for variation in meaning within a performance situation.

Thus, to make the next step in the analysis it is necessary to overcome the idea that questions 1) and 2) above are opposed and to assert rather than they form a continuum of analysis. To be specific, what is needed is an analysis that includes on one side the musical structure -- consisting basically of musical units and rules for their combination -- and on the other the structure of the performance occasion of which the behavioral units and rules for audience response form an essential part.

But this is not enough; for events are not abstract units, rather they are bound by the cultural systems within which they are found. Hence, to understand the dynamics of the behavioral realization of these concepts or structures -- i.e. the dynamics of operationalization governing both musical and non-musical behavior in a performance situation -- requires a consideration of at least two additional dimensions: One is the ideology that generates and governs the musical event (i.e. a set of cultural rules), the other the social reality that underlies it. In short, it is only on the basis of all this information that the interaction between music and performance context (and more specifically, between musician and audience) may then be traced and decoded, and the shaping of music by context be properly assessed.

When considering this approach in terms of its ethnographic application two specific questions need to be dealt with regarding music sound and performance context respectively. The crucial question in music analysis has been how to arrive at the functional conceptions underlying any musical idiom in order to analyse its behavioral unfolding in performance, particularly where verbalized conceptualizations are not available. The second question concerns the identification of a performance context that represents a clearly defined and bounded domain of which music is an intergral part, so that the context is accessible to analysis with reference to the music.

Taken independently, each of these questions can easily be answered as regards an ethnographic perspective. There are musical traditions with a verbalized theory literally available for the asking -- best known among them the art music traditions of the Near East and of Asia. Equally, there are musical performance contexts which are clearly defined and in which the role or function of music can be clearly identified. But a musical tradition that has both of these attributes is not as easy to come by, since art music tends to be more abstracted from its context of performance, while music which is functionally integrated in its performance context in most societies is not singled out by a verbalized theory.

Given the pioneering nature of the analysis to be undertaken, I strongly feel the need to minimize the problems that arise from inadequate access to indigenous conceptualizations, particularly regarding musical sound. I have therefore taken care to choose a musical genre from within a musical tradition that has a verbalized musical theory. The music of India represents one such domain. Here, the fully developed discipline of Indian musicology has promoted the analysis of musical structure in terms of indigenous conceptualizations. At the same time, culturally and socially well-defined performance contexts are characteristic throughout Indian society, where the "cultural performance" is a typical setting for music making (Singer 1972:70 ff, 148 ff). Among such performance traditions are the devotional assemblies of all major religions of India. For this thesis I have chosen to analyse the musical idiom particular to one such assembly, the Sufi Qawwali. It will be my aim to investigate to what extent variation in individual utterances within this musical idiom are generated by variation in the performance situations that occur within the performance domain of Qawwali. It is in this concrete way that I hope to show how socio-cultural context shapes musical sound.

While aiming to contribute to ethnomusicology generally, this study is also relevant to musical theory in that it introduces the dimension of performance into the analysis of musical sound structure. More particularly, it is intended as a contribution toward expanding the scope of Indian musicology which so far has explored the limits of musical variation independent of context.

B Methodological Considerations

The analytical model used in this project was developed on the basis of a variety of approaches and tools derived from three sources: Western musicology, Indian musicology and anthropology. As I will show below, the first two, together, have formed a means to isolate music sound as a self-contained system; the third has provided the basis to derive context variation for a model to integrate it with the music sound rule system. To clarify my approach, let me provide a background context to specify what I will be referring to in the development of this model.

Western Musicology

In the field of ethnomusicology, a Western discipline, the primary approaches to the analysis of musical sound are based on Western musical concepts, as regards perspectives as well its methods and tools. Ethnomusicologists with musicological training have proposed systematic applications of a Western musical framework to non-Western music (e.g. Nettl 1964). Indeed, they often elevate this framework to the level of a theoretical perspective and have even used it as an alternative theoretical stance vis a vis their anthropologically oriented colleagues (cf. debates in Ethnomusicology, 1957-76). But even anthropologists dealing with music generally fall back on the same theoretical framework because it is available and accessible to them, if sometimes only in a vaguely intuitive form. A mutual lack of communication between musicologists and anthropologists working in ethnomusicology -- as well as a lack of musicological training among the latter -- have tended to obscure the need for anthropologists in the field to assess the contribution of music theory to ethnomusicology. The following brief overview is to lead to such an assessment below.

Western music theory as developed by Western musicologists is based on the assumption that music is a self-contained system of organized sound that varies on its own terms. These terms may be isolated conceptually into an aesthetic, as in art music. Even where they are not conceptualized, scholars presume that such properties are inherent in the structure of the music in question. It is the aim of music theory to identify and analyze these structural properties.

Traditional music theory has a well-established approach to musical analysis based on conceptual conventions that developed within the

European art music tradition over the last several centuries. These conceptualizations or "musical rudiments" are organized into a set of musical parameters covering the dimensions of "melody", "rhythm", "harmony" and "form". Underlying all four are the fundamental concepts of pitch and duration. These are derived from characteristic features of European melody. As conceived of by European musicians, melody is a set of discrete pitches of specific duration which are related to each other in terms of a universal pitch framework based on a diatonic scale principle. Accordingly, any unit of music can be reduced to minimal components of pitch and duration. Groupings of such pitches represent motives which can be combined into larger units of formal structure. Simultaneous pitch occurence is conceived of as harmony and governed by rules of consonance and dissonance. Durational units are related to each other in terms of a rhythmic framework which is based on a concept of durational proportionality often called "divisive" and represented as such in notation--even though it might more appropriately be termed "multiplicative".

A descriptive system of notation expresses the four musical parameters on the basis of the two fundamental dimensions, pitch and duration. Pitches are shown relative to each other on a keyed staff which represents excerpts of the universal pitch framework. The symbols used to mark pitches on the staff represent their durational value in accordance with a divisive time framework and its extensions. At higher levels of organization, melodic and rhythmic structuring are indicated by various auxiliary symbols, as are larger units of formal structure. Additional dimensions such as intensity, speed, timbre, and articulation are considered to be at a secondary level of analysis and represented notationally by a set of terms and letter symbols that may be added to the staff notation.

This musical frame of reference has long served the traditional musical analysis of Western art music compositions which concerns itself principally with the formal organization of musical parameters in the music of different style periods. Summed up within the term "musical theory", this type of analysis has always served a prescriptive as well as descriptive purpose.

More recently, musicological analysis has focussed on discovering principles of structure in traditional Western art music, using music theory as a framework of analysis, i.e. the culture's own criteria. Notable examples are Schenker (1954, 1956) who first established harmonic criteria for analysing the underlying structure of classical compositions; Reti (1961) who developed thematic analysis, and others dealing with tonal music (e.g. Walker 1963). Schenker's pioneering concept of "levels of abstraction (Schichten and Stufen) and his emphasis on fundamental structure have influenced the development of new theoretical approaches based on more comprehensive analytical criteria (see e.g. Berry 1976, Cogan and Escott 1976, Yeston 1977, Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1977). In response, particularly, to the need for ddealing with twentieth-century non-tonal music, musical parameters are being redefined and musical processes dealt with in more abstract terms.

Comparative musicology has extended the analytical perspective of Western musicology to non-Western music with the underlying assumption that all music is based on universal principles which are accessible to analysis and comparison according to criteria dereived from Western scholarship. To the extent that their point of reference is European art music and the methods used in its study, resulting studies of non-Western music suffer from predictable ethnocentric distortions (e.g. Sachs 1965).

A direct reaction to this has been the movement pioneered by Seeger (1958). Based on the assumed universality of the physical stimulus of musical sound, Seeger attempts to objectify musical analysis totally by reducing it to the study of measurable acoustic properties from which universal categories are to arise. Comparative musicology has rarely addressed itself to the question of such musical universals in concrete terms, e.g. in the work of Kolinski (1961, 1962, 1967). More promising are attempts on the part of some Western musical theorists to arrive at musical universals by expanding their explanatory models for Western music (e.g. Cogan and Escott 1976, Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1977).

Recent work on musical universals has been inspired by Levi-Straussian structuralism and Jakobson's earlier notation of the universality of binary features: Taking as the basis the structure of music itself, this approach sees music as a representation of the structure of the mind. The universal structural features underlying all music are to be discovered by applying Western analytic criteria within a structuralist or generative model. Levi Strauss's own analysis of Ravel's Bolero (1971) and Ruwet's more extensive treatment of various European art music genres (1972) are examples which focus on the structural aspect of binary opposition, but they are ultimately based on conventional musicological analysis, if of a somewhat unsophisticated kind--Ruwet's later work (1975) goes far beyond these limitations, however. A "generative" approach is developed by Lindblom and Sundberg (1970) and by Lidov (Lidov and Gabura 1972, Lidov 1975), who apply models somewhat analogous to generative syntactic analysis (Chomsky 1957) to European children's songs. In the area of non-Western music Boiles' impressive grammar of Tepehua Thought Song (1967) may be considered a special musical case but with potential applicability for the study of thematic music elsewhere (e.g. Sind, see Baloch 1966, Qureshi 1975). The principal exponent of the structuralist analysis of music and of musical semiology, Nattiez (1971, 1972, 1975) has yet to provide a convincing application of his theoretical framework. These models derived from modern linguistics, significantly, have been most successfully applied in some kinds of Western music where the authors could use their native intuition--hence their universal validity remains to be demonstrated. (see Powers 1980b for an authortative assessment of linguistic applications to music, both Western and non-Western.)

A different theoretical position on the analysis of musical sound arose from the trend toward the nintensive study of non-Western art music. It postulates that music is based on culture-specific principles and must be analyzed according to the culture's own criteria, leading to what amounts to indigenous musicology. With few exceptions, notably Blacking's study of Venda music (1967), applications of this premise are in the field of art music where musical parameters are conceptualized and verbalized and thus accessible to the analyst. Most such analyses simply represent exposés of indigenous musical conceptions and their application, presented in terms of Western musical concepts by means of Western terminology. This applies to studies by Western-trained indigenous scholars such as Khatschi (1962), Massoudieh (1968). Jairazbhoy (1971), as well as by Westerners well-trained in non-Western musics whom Hood has called bimusical (Hood 1954, 1960).

Linguistic models have been adopted by some of these ethnomusicologists with the aim of translating their culture-specific analysis into a framework that allows replication and generalization. Of these, Powers (1958, ms) presents a "grammar" of a music, in that his analysis of South Indian art music gives rules for generating all sounds, from "minimal units" established on the basis of phonetic/phonemic distinctions (1958) to syntactic processes (ms). Others like Becker and Becker (1979), Blacking (1971) and Cooper (1977), employ a generative model mainly as a descriptive device.

Where musicologists deal with the "semantic" content of music they generally identify emotive content in musical parameters with the help of aesthetic criteria readily available in art music traditions. Thus Meyer (1956) interprets Western art music in terms of its own aesthetic criteria. This approach has been successfully extended to other art music tradition, particularly those with a semantically rich aesthetic.

Western musicology has provided what so far is the most comprehensive and practical framework for the description of musical sound in terms of concepts, categories and descriptive units, quite apart from the fact that its conventions are most widely and generally disseminated and known. Indeed, no other system of musical theory has had as much de facto universality and diverse scholarly use, both historically through the time periods of European history, and geographically across different musical traditions. Furthermore, this framework has in recent times begun to undergo a process of "objectification", in response to the challenge of alternative approaches, be they from other disciplines (as e.g. linguistics or semiotics) or from other musical systems (as e.g. various Asian High Cultures). The resulting expansion of analytical and notational parameters renders Western musical conceptions quite capable of serving as a descriptive metalanguage for music, much like the phonetic alphabet and other categories of Western linguistics which have been applied to diverse languages for descriptive and comparative purposes.

The problem remains, however, how to avoid the obvious pitfalls of imposing categories inappropriately. Apart from the obvious insufficiency of ethnocentrically applied Western musical categories, the universality concept based on structuralism and extensively elucidated by Nattiez (see above p. 11) must be taken seriously as a solution offered by the Western musicological tradition. The question is whether this concept can be trusted to provide categories of universal applicability, given the present limited state of knowledge of musical concepts outside of European music. It is in this context that the use of indigenous music theory may be considered a significant alternative. This approach is predicated on the assumption that a culture's own conceptualizations about music can best serve to build a framework for the analysis of specific musical genres of idioms within that culture area. By thus using indigenous music theory as a tool for arriving at "emic", or culturally relevant categories, this approach may also utlimately contribute to the refinement of a method toward defining universal categories. That, however, is a step far removed from the task on hand which is to put indigenous, non-Western music theory to use in analysing that culture's music. Furthermore, this taks is here undertaken with the full awareness that the analyst can only make informed assumptions about musical--or any other--concepts which he acquires essentially from the outside.

Indian Musicology

India, no less than Europe, has a centuries-old tradition of theorizing about music. Indian musical theory, as codified in musical treatises and other sources, extending from the fifth century onward (for surveys see Gangoly 1935, Danielou 1954, Bhatkhande 1972, Powers 1970 and above all 1980a), has established principles for describing and analysing musical sound. In accord with Indian brahminical scholarly tradition, successive reinterpretations of such sources have resulted in a theoretical edifice covering dimensions of melody (pitch and pitch relationships), rhythm, (pulse and duration) and form (structure of compositions). Given the primacy of the melodic line in Indian art music, as well as the separated articulation of the thythmic dimension through drumming, it follows that Indian music theoryhas primarily focussed on the analysis of pitch. Basic concepts cover pitch classes as constituents of an acoustically moveable framework of pitch relationships, with special emphasis on the classification and articulation of these pitch relationships. Duration is dealt with in parallel terms, though with less elaboration. Concepts of formal structure are derived from the units of text structure and include principles of combining such units. Both melodic outlines and rhythmic structures are preserved in the form of a rudimentary system of notation using letter symbols, but a body of music in notation is largely lacking.

The discovery of Sanskrit treatises by British Indologists around 1800 (Jones 1962, Powers 1965, 1980) was followed by a response of Western attempts to interpret them and also to describe their subject, Indian art music. As a further response, Indian scholars, too, began to focus on rendering their musical tradition into an English language framework. The resulting effort by both Western and Indian authors writing in English led to the development of what is appropriately called Indian Musicology. Predictably, much of this work has been carried on within the Indian scholastic traditon by drawing heavily on the body of classical writings and often addressing related problems such as the classification of melody types (e.g. Bose 1960, Jairazbhoy 1971), or the measurement of pitch relationships (e.g. Deval 1918, Clements 1913, Sastri 1954). Within a few notably exceptions (day 1974, Fox-Strangways 1965), a strongly theoretical orientation has characterized the many general works on Indian music as well (e.g. Gangoly 1935, Prajnananda 1960, Danielou 1949/54).

The extension of scholarly analysis to musical practice was hampered initially by the traditional separation of the learned music scholar from the unlettered performing musician. However the present-day Western concern with performance study on one side, and the Indian promotion of institutionalized music in the other have led to an increasing emphasis on musical practice resulting in collections of music in notation--both Indian (Bhatkhande, 1953-55, Patwardhan 1972, Nawab Ali Kan 1925) and Western (Powers 1958, Kuckertz 1970, Wade 1971)--and, more important, in the description or analysis of actual music in terms of an appropriate theoretical framework--both in English (Gosvami 1957, Sambhamoorthy 1960-1969, Joshi 1963, Kaufmann 1968) and in vernacular languages (Bhatkhande 1953-55, Thakur 1954-62). As a result of all this, the broad outlines of such an analytical framework have now largely been worked out for Indian classical music on the basis of the musicians' own verbalized theory and amplified, as well as standardized, with reference to classical Indian scholarship. Still, certain problems remain to be dealt with regarding the relationship between ancient and modern theory as well as between theory and practice, where both are derived from socio-culturally divergent musical representatives.

The input of Western musicology, apart from early comparisons with Western scale theories, has in the main been confined to providing equivalents or amplifications to Indian musical concepts. Since Indian musical parameters are highly compatible with those of Western art music, Western-trained musicologists--both Western and Indian--have been quite successful at integrating both into a flexible descriptive framework based on Indian music theory and, at the same time, amenable to Western analytical approaches. With this framework, Indian musicology is now at the stage of tackling specific musical problems (e.g. Athavale et. al. 1976, Deshpande and Ratanjankar 1970, Row 1977, Wade 1971), or specific performance traditions (e.g. Qureshi 1969, 1981, Sharma 1973, Tewari 1977) within the domain of Indian music. Furthermore, this frame of reference allows the application of new analytical approaches developed in Western musicology. Significant in this context are the works of Deva using information theory to approach the raga phenomenon (Deva 1970), and the pioneering use of linguistic theory and method made by Powers in his analysis of raga structure where he deals with the tonal relationships within a raga, i.e. its internal structure (1958), as well as with the relationship between ragas, i.e. the structure of the musical idiom (1977, ms, 1980a). Powers' focus on structure as the result of improvisational or compositional choices is particularly promising for use in an analysis of music in its context of performance.

This fruitful interaction should not obscure the fact that Western and Indian scholars continue to operate--albeit not always overtly so--from within their respective frameworks of musical conceptions, modified as these conceptions may be. To clear potential confusion, and to make their findings accessible to those outside their area, what would seem to be indicated at this stage is a clarification of basic musicological assumptions by those working in the field of Indian music. I propose to preface my analysis of Qawwali musical structure with such a clarification.

Anthropology

The anthropological focus on music has as its basis the assumption that music, as part of culture, must be analysed in relation to its socio-cultural content. Because of its specialized requirements, ethnomusicology has been somewhat peripheral to anthropology and therefore slow to follow theoretical developments in anthropological thought. Early attempts to account for the diversity of music in both kind and complexity were based on a diffusionist (e.g. Nettl 1954) or an evolutionary (e.g. Densmore 1918, Sachs 1965) perspective. But the explicit theoretical framework ethnomusicology acquired--once the tape recorder made more sophisticated studies possible--was that of functionalism. In the first and only anthropologically oriented work on the general scope of ethnomusicology, The Anthropology of Music (1964), Alan Merriam, prime exponent of anthropological ethnomusicology, lays out the assumptions that music is a system of culturally determined rules, its meaning is contained in its function, and its function, ultimately, is to serve the needs of society (bio-psychological or sociological needs). The musical sound system is to be analyzed on the basis of this functional understanding.

Applications of this approach, while going a long way toward integrating the study of music into anthropology through its context, have generally either failed to incorporate the musical sound system into the analytical scheme or else to correlate meaningfully the analysis of context and music. The first type of shortcoming is exemplified by McAllester's excellent contextual analysis of Navajo musical ceremony with merely appended transcriptions (McAllester 1954), the second by Merriam's highly dichotomous analysis of Flathead music where lack of ethnographic and methodological rigor result in a lack of congruence between musical and contextual analyses. (Merriam 1967). Apart from a theoretical bias toward reducing specific uses and functions of music to the tenets of a universalist biological functionalism (e.g. Waterman 1955) the major shortcoming--particularly of Merriam's studies--is a lack of conceptual rigor in distinguishing on one hand between the culture's and the analyst's categories, and on the other between conceptual and behavioral levels of analysis.

Recent theoretical contributions have addressed themselves to these problems from perspectives of cognitive anthropology annd ethnoscience. Focussing on the investigation of music as a cognitive system both Blacking (1967, 1973, 1979) and Blum (1975) approach a society's musical concepts with reference to socio-cultural antecedents. In contrast with this somewhat phenomenological orientation proposed earlier by Schutz (1951), Mcleod (1971), Herndon (1972) and Asch (1975a) propose establishing a conceptual framework for music on the basis of verbal eliciting, using methods derived from ethnoscience. (Sturtevant 1964 etc.)

In these and related anthropological approaches to ethnomusicology linguistic concepts figure prominently, but apart from the semantic analysis of musical concepts (as in Mcleod 1971, or Zemp 1978) their application is generally limited to the description of musical sound features (see Herndon 1974). For anthropologically oriented ethnomusicologists the use of linguistic models has seen particularly appropriate to music analysis. But here, as in musicologically oriented studies, applications have generally been based on superficial analogy. In most cases, as Feld (1974) point and Powers (1980b)they at best represent a disciplinary or methodological option rather than a theoretical contribution, not unlike linguistic applications to other areas of anthropology (see Hymes 1970).

The central problem of linking the conceptual domain of music with the behavioral reality of musical context is dealt with by Asch (1972, 1975) who presents a model that incorporates both cognitive and behavioral analysis. He proposes to use "emic" or "native" categories as basic units for the analysis of the musical context at the behavioral level in order to reduce the imposition of arbitrary analytic categories by the investigator. Thus in his study of the Slavey Drum Dance he uses verbal eliciting to get some indication of folk taxonomy, at the same time dealing with the behavorial domain in terms of situational analysis (Goffman 1971). As a result, he finds correspondence between the two levels of analysis but also uncovers context-derived taxa which appear to be operative at the level of sound organization in performance.

The concept of music as performance itself is only beginning to figure in ethnomusicological thinking (e.g. Herndon and Brunyate, 1976), largely inspired, once again, by recent developments in linguistic anthropology. Increasingly, sociolinguists and folklorists as well--from Lord (1955) and Labov (1972) Darnell (1975, 1979), Sherzer and Darnell (1972), Ben Amos and Goldstein (1975), Vanek (1979) and others--are including the contextual dimension in the study of verbal communication and proposing to deal with both text and context in terms of a performance concept (e.g. Baumann, 1975). These and related models of language performance (e.g. Murray 1977) are promising for the consideration of performance in general, but their applicability to music is complicated unneccessarily by the fact that they naturally tend to focus on the semantic, if not the referential, content of the performance medium and consequently tend to deal with context as an extension or modifier of the text (Murray 1977, Silverstein 1976).

It is the very absence of obvious semantic reference in music--generally considered problematic by ethnomusicologists--that makes it easier to approach performance as a structured manifestation of culture in which the medium of performance is integrated or even subsumed, rather than to treat performance context as an adjunct upon the medium, as is implied by sociolinguistic analysis approaches. This essentially anthropological stance is in fact manifested in a number of ethnomusicological studies of musical ceremonies by anthropologists (e.g. McAllester 1954, etc.) but there has until recently been little concern for developing this stance into an analytical model, particularly one that would include the dimension of musical sound. Even in practise, these (anthropological) studies have generally failed to deal with musical sound from the same anthropological perspective, using instead "etic" western criteria for their music analysis, or leaving music to musicologists. The recent increase in musical understanding, generated by opportunities for musical immersion and study, has not essentially changed the picture, because the need for integrating such musical knowledge into a formal and replicable analytical model remains.

Concern with establishing such a model for musical performance--i.e. integrating musical sound into an anthropological perspective--has been articulated in the writings of McLeod, Herndon and Asch. Inspired by Singer's concept of "cultural performance"--evolved, appropriately, as "unit of observation" for the study of Indian culture--Herndon formulates the concept of "musical occasion" or, using Singer's term, "a cultural performance in which music has a role" (Herndon 1971:339, Singer 1972:148 f). A musical occasion is an isolatable segment of human behavior or activity identified by a linguistic tag--i.e. a named event--and characterized by "varying degrees of organization of setting and activity". In accordance with basic anthropological assumptions the musical occasion may be regarded as a cultural and social entity that includes music but also the totality of associated behaviors and underlying concepts. This "encapsulated expression of forms and values of a society" (Herndon 71:340) serves as a natural frame of reference or point of departure for musical investigation, making it possible to isolate context-derived analytical units for the analysis of musical structure.

Since this approach presupposes a thorough anthropological study of the occasion, informed by an understanding of the larger socio-cultural context, it has received more theoretical approval than practical application. Besides several preliminary inroads, (Herndon 1971, 1972, 1974), Asch's systematic suty of the Slavey Drum Dance shows that there are musical rules which are derivable from the contextual framework of the musical occasion, thus providing a positive test of the hypothesis that music and context are related at the level of what Asch terms "musical event", i.e. "the perceived focus, purpose and observed behavior associated with the actual performance of a composition during a musical occasion" (Asch 2975:245). However, this as well as other applications (i.e. Blacking 1971, Herndon 1971) also indicate that the level of specificity of musical rules derived through context analysis alone appears to be quite low, governing only a limited number of musical distinctions. A gap is therefore left in the analysis of musical sound which, in the absence of a compatible framework for music analysis, is filled at the investigator's discretion. The need to fill this gap by means of a compatible analytical framework brings the question of musical sound analysis back into focus and thus this discussion has come full circle, setting the stage of an attempt at a synthesis between anthropological and musicological approaches.

C. Proposed Model

From the above it should be clear that the model for understanding the rule system of Qawwali music is available. As well, it should be clear that anthropology has provided a conceptual framework whereby context and music sound can be interrelated. What remains is to provide an analysis which actually does so. This, of course, is my intention here. However, to set forth the framework and procedure for such an analysis will first of all require clarifying the underlying assumptions that inform this endeavour. I consider five such assumptions basic; three of them concern the nature of anthropological analysis and are derived most directly from the analytical model developed by Asch. The remaining two assumptions concern dimensions particular to the analysis of music in performance, dealing with the music sound medium and the process of performance itself.

1. The first assumption is that an analysis should focus on what can be tested: the observeable (cf. Murphy 1971 for background logic). Observeable music is the complex of sounds a musician makes and its observeable context is the performance situation in which he makes them; hence analysing the relationship of the two requires dealing with behavior in very specific terms (Goffman is still the primary model for such analyses).
2. The second assumption is the recognition of a conceptual domain as distinct from the domain of behavior, with a dialectical

relationship obtaining between the two domains (for theoretical foundation of this assumption see Sturtevant 1964 and others on ethnoscience). The implication significant for analysing the behavioral realm is that concepts inform behavior and can therefore serve as a key to such analysis (Asch 1975).

3. The third assumption is the logical priority of the analyst's categories into which ultimately all his perceptions of data are translated, whether consciously or not. This implies the truism that even native concepts or categories are subject to the analyst's perception, and therefore cannot be treated as analytically equivalent to the analyst's own categories (Murphy 1971: Part 3).

In order to analyse a context which includes musical sound, these three assumptions must be applicable to the domain of musical sound as well. The musicological approach developed by Powers implies the feasibility of such an application, subject to a fourth assumption regarding musical analysis:

4. Where musical conceptualizations are available it is then possible to deal analytically with musical sound in performance on the basis of musical parameters isolated according to native music theory. This assumption implies that at the present stage of development of music analysis access to both the dimension of musical behavior and that of musical conceptualizations is a prerequisite to an analysis of musical sound. This is not to suggest that music traditions lacking verbal theory cannot be analysed, only that such analysis may more profitably be

attempted once that analytical apparatus for music is considerably and systematically expanded.

On the basis of these assumptions an analytical approach may be delineated which includes the dimensions of both context ~~and~~ music, dealing with each at the conceptual level of structure and then at the level of process where structure is realized behaviorally. What remains to be clarified is the question of how to deal analytically with the dynamic that underlies any process per se, including the process of music making. This requires stating a final assumption regarding process and its analysis which in a general way derives from the anthropological position taken by Asch, Goffman and Murphy:

5. Process means making structure operational. It constitutes the behavioral realization of concepts. But process, no matter how culturally and socially complex, originates in individual human action which is based upon individual strategy or motivation and dependent on the individual's vantage point in the situation. From this perspective, the process of a musical performance results from the innterplay of such action (i.e. inter-action) by two kinds of participants: those who operationalize music, and those who operationalize context--i.e. performer and audience. Thus the key to understanding musical sound in its process of performance is to analyse it from the vantage point of the performer, since it is his action that takes the form of musical sound production, and it is through his perceptions that the actions of the audience affect the music.

Incorporating this assumption into the analytical approach results in a model which may serve as the framework or blueprint for the proposed analysis. As schematized on Table 1, the model reflects all five assumptions; it also accounts for the fact that musical and contextual structures are informed by socio-cultural background dimensions while musical and contextual process, based on the strategy of the participants, is informed by their own vantage point or self interest.

It now remains to make this analytical framework operational, i.e. to translate the blueprint into a concrete analytical procedure. Substantively this procedure consists of two basic stages, that of the analysis of musical structure and that of musical process, but there is a third step intermediary to the two: the examination of the performance context. Thus the analysis actually comprises three steps, contained in Sections I through III and each requiring a variety of descriptive and analytical tools, as detailed in an introductory chapter for each. The analytical procedure will be carried out as follows:

The first step is a consideration of the musical idiom of Qawwali. Using a musicological approach Qawwali music will be analysed in terms of its musical framework and its distinctive musical features, resulting in a model of Qawwali musical structure. This is contained in Section I.

The second step is logically parallel to the first: an examination of the performance context, i.e. the structure of the Qawwali occasion. In terms of the analytical goal this step simply provides information prerequisite to the next step--the analysis of the performance process--and is therefore organized accordingly, focussing on concepts, setting and procedure. To deal with the contextual domain, however, requires introducting first the relevant background dimensions that

TABLE 1: ANALYTICAL MODEL

Background Dimensions	Dimensions to be Analysed	
	CONTEXT OF PERFORMANCE	MEDIUM OF PERFORMANCE
Ideological System Symbolic System(s)	Occasion Structure (according to shared knowledge)	Music Structure (according to performer's knowledge)
	STRUCTURE	
Socio-Economic Setting	OPERATIONALIZED	
	PROCESS	
Performer's Identity	Event Process	Song Process
	analysed as:	
	audience ←—— interaction ——→ performer	
Performer's Vantage Point (Self Interest)	(according to performer's perceptions)	(according to performer's actions)

inform the immediate context of performance; these are the Sufi ideology which provides the rationale and function of Qawwali, the symbolic system of mystical poetry used as Qawwali texts, the socio-economic setting of Sufism within which Qawwali is practised, and the social and professional identity of the performer who knows and produces Qawwali music. An overview of the Qawwali occasion links the performance context to this background, setting the stage for the analysis of the occasion structure. All this is contained in Section II.

The third step constitutes the actual analysis of the performance process. First context and idiom of performance are outlined in concert, as they constitute a particular performance event, their interplay resulting from the strategies of the participants. The performance process is seen as the performer's operationalization of the musical structure, informed by his apprehension of the contextual structure as well as by his understanding of the background dimensions. This leads to the actual analysis of the performance process: to reduce the context-music interaction to its underlying principles so that the contextual constraints operating in the peformance process may be ultimately incorporated into the structural model of Qawwali music. This is contained in Section III.

Throughout the analysis the conceptual separation betweeen informant's categories--as perceived by the analyst--and analyst's categories, i.e. between "emic" and "etic" levels of analysis, is maintained and formalized by means of two different types of summaries presented in the form of appendices and tables respectively. In view of the primacy of the analyst's categories on which the entire analysis is built, they are contained in the tables that run concurrent with the text. Wherever informants' categories have informed those of the analyst, they are supplied on corresponding appendices so as to provide the reader with the relevant ethnographic evidence and to clarify the translation process from "emic" to "etic" knowledge on which so much of the analysis rests.

A concluding chapter reviews the results of the analysis and its implications in a wider intellectual and disciplinary context. Finally, a comprehensive Ethnographic Section serves to provide exemplification and evidence for the analysis while also constituting a capsule ethnography of Qawwali as observed and recorded at one of India's major Sufi shrines.

D Ethnographic Procedure

The field research for this study of Qawwali was carried out during a ten month stay in Sufi centres of the Indian subcontinent, mainly at the Nizamuddin Auliya shrine in Delhi. An intensive immersion into all aspects of Qawwali yielded an enormous amount of information and recorded material (see Data). More important, it led to an increasing awareness of the contextual factors and forces which combine to make Qawwali music what it is. It is on the basis of this awareness that the theoretical analysis ultimately rests.

As for ethnographic method, I have attempted to be as rigorous as possible in order to compensate for the ethnocentrism which to an extent arises from the theoretical or discipline-oriented motivation for ethnographic research itself. Selecting a focus and interpreting ethnographic data on the basis of what might be termed "scholarly intuition" may be a necessary concomitant to selecting a problem relevant to, and entering the ongoing discourse within a discipline. But at the level of interpreting other people's stated concepts or observed behavior such scholarly intuition can be presumptive if not positively counterproductive, not to the creation of "neat" ethnographic examples for an analysis--for it is this intuition that leads very surely to finding just such examples--but to the goal of obtaining a body of ethnographic information which can stand the scrutiny of its own protagonists even when they are not trying to please what they consider an "establishment" of which the researcher forms part. This is not to foray into epistemological issues or questions of ethics in anthropology, but simply to propose that ethnographic rigor is in order no less than theoretical rigor, and that such rigor requires above all for the analyst to come to terms with his own intuition vis-a-vis his ethnographic task. Ethnoscience has introduced an extent of rigor into field observation; what often remains to be clarified, however, is the step that leads from data gathering to the use of such data in analysis and finally its presentation to the reader. I therefore wish here to account for my own field research procedure in these broadened terms, particularly in order to make it clear how both the analysis and the ethnographic examples in this thesis relate to my field observations.

Four types of discovery procedures were required to do the field research necessary for this analysis. While conceived of in terms of stages or steps appropriate to the analytical model, in actuality a good deal of overlap occurred between them. However, the conceptual separation of the steps served as a procedural guide throughout the research.

The first two steps served the discovery of the conceptual framework for both Qawwali music and context. Because of the very different nature of musical and contextual knowledge, different discovery procedures were called for. However, in both domains I followed what I believe to be the only appropriate approach toward the discovery of my informant's conceptualizations: starting the inquiry in a totally open-ended way and thus making sure not to impose or even suggest any of the analyst's own categories or concepts (a stance pioneered by ethnoscience and successfully applied by e.g. Conklin). Needless to say, this approach is very time-consuming and resulted in much repetition and topical non-sequiturs which later required much extra processing and cross-referencing of this interview material (while also exasperating my more conventionally trained assistant-friend who was ready to administer questionnaires instead). But the procedure did contribute significantly toward identifying conceptual priorities and boundaries which then could gradually be defined and tested in a more direct way.

Step 1: Learning Qawwali Music

This primary task was carried out within the traditional setting for learning from a professional specialist in India: The student (shāgird) who is formally taught by one master in return for allegiance, made manifest through remuneration and personal service. For me, the anomaly of being a foreign female of obvious propserity (evidenced by my having time and money for this research, modest outward appearance notwithstanding) made it quite acceptable to convert the requirement for service into generous financial reward. This, and my safe distance from the local performing circuit also allowed me to deviate from my allegiance to one teacher by taking lessons from others. Ultimately it all boiled down to the fact that traditional Qawwali performers in India are in dire need of patrons today.

The teaching process included learning musical concepts and performance rules, acquiring performing competence and an actual, though limited repertoire of Qawwali songs which I used to test the musical rules in application. To avoid imposing my suggestions required adopting the stance of a musical novice. Even then, my position as a patron resulted at times in my "client" not wishing to answer my question in the negative; only gradually did I learn to distinguish such an accommodation from a true confirmation (e.g. "yes, this is done"--*yeh hotā hai*--, meaning standard practice, vs "yes, this is done as well"--*yeh bhī hotā hai*--, meaning that it really isn't done but conceivably could be, since I raised the question).

While formal musical learning was to be the first step in the field research, large areas of knowledge turned out to be inaccessible in the initial course of lessons. Then I discovered that Qawwals believe in learning by ear and use formal teaching mainly to help out unmusical Qawwal youngsters. This meant that I had to acquire a working knowledge by ear (with at least the music memorized), of the standard Qawwali repertoire, in order to ask pertinent questions exploring the limits of musical conceptualizations. Since for any student such knowledge comes only from repeated listening to Qawwali performances, the process of musical learning in effect continued through most of the fieldwork period.

Step 2: Learning the Qawwali Context

This knowledge was acquired in the natural course of interaction with leadig Sufis at Nizamuddin Auliya and at other shrines in India and Pakistan. Initially, such contacts were always established by my husband; this laid the foundation for a culturally appropriate relationship which allowed me to learn from the standard vantage point of a spiritual junior. Sufis are well-versed teachers of their own ideology, but to gain access to the more intimate aspects of Qawwali listening took a special rapport with particularly understanding Sufis and lay listeners.

In theory, this step too was initial to the analysis, but as with Qawwali music, learning to understand the actual structure of the Qawwali occasion--especially its experiential aspect--required a repertoire, i.e. prior acquaintance with the entire "map" of actual Qawwali events, to serve as a frame of reference for areas not covered in teaching. Again, this acquaintance I could only gain over time, by attending many diverse Qawwali assemblies. Written materials, used and recommended by my Sufi informants, also helped supplement my knowledge of the Qawwali occasion and of Sufism in general, as it is conceptualized in these Sufi circles.

Step 3: Observing and Recording the Performance Process of Qawwali

Since attending Qawwali performance events was started quite immediately in order to complement Steps 1 and 2 above, the total number of assemblies observed and recorded on audiotape--complete with observational annotations--turned out to be considerable, supplemented in the later part of the research by videotape recording--which, however, lack extensive annotations since I felt constrained to operate the camera myself. Considering that Qawwali is an all-male tradition, I was fortunate to have had the chance to attend all but one very specially hallowed assembly (which was video-recorded by my husband). Since, understandably, I was often posted away from the front area, it was helpful to have a male collaborator (my husband or assistant-friend) supplement his observations from the front row. In any event, observing a Qawwali assembly visually is always a compromise, for invariably the performer is not in focus if all the audience is, or else some listeners are left out of view. Using a variety of vantage points to observe and record assemblies of the same type (see Field Data) appeared to be the best solution for offsetting inevitable bias, so that my collection of data includes several groups of events held over the year in the same locale, under the same leadership, and with the same performers. All the same, I remained keenly aware of the limitations inherent in the pursuit of observing behavior.

In substance, the field observation of Qawwali performances basically consisted of identifying as well as possible all that went on for the duration of the event, both musically and behaviorally. Using both musical and contextual conceptualizations as a frame of reference, along with relevant socio-economic factors, I later checked through and clarified particular recorded performances with Meraj Ahmad, my Qawwali teacher, who was himself a participant in most of these events. This often led to further inquiry and verification about performing strategies used in Qawwali events. To further elucidate the process of listeners' responses, I gained insight from talking to Sufis and particularly to a few personally interested devotees who were willing to explore the level of behavior even where it did not conform with Sufi concepts.

Step 4: Analysing the Performance Process of Qawwali

This final and most crucial step was carried out only after the field research had been completed and the data was processed. Considerable time had to be spent first in organizing, translating, and transcribing the many hours of recorded talk, then in indexing and cross-referencing them by what amounts to a vast number of topics, both musically and non-musical. Performances on audio and video tapes also needed to be transcribed, indexed and cross-referenced down to each individual song. At another level, a process of re-thinking the project led me to consider the entire Qawwali tradition in terms of the political economy underlying it, in an attempt to make sense of the human incongruities I found disturbing. This reconsideration expanded and clarified my perspective on the socio-economic background of Qawwali, its relation to Sufi ideology, and, most crucially, on the motivations of Qawwali participants.

The analysis of the performance process constitutes an interplay between ethnographic and theoretical thinking. On one side this meant analysing particular performances and testing particular hypotheses on performances not yet analyses, a procedure made possible by the vast amount of available and processed ethnographic data (see Data

Collection). On the other side this interplay entailed generalizing the results and making sure that the analytical perspective continued to conform to the theoretical goal. Finally, the ethnographic section was conceived in the light of the analysis and its aim: A careful selection from the many performers, songs and performances analysed was put together to exemplifying the salient features of Qawwali and their interplay in the performance process while also illustrating the methods used in analysing the data. The intent throughout what follows is to make as clear as possible what has gone into the total theoretical and ethnographic effort.

SECTION I: THE PERFORMANCE IDIOM

CHAPTER 2

ANALYTICAL VANTAGE POINT

In this section a musicological approach is used to analyse Qawwali. In terms of the theoretical argument of this thesis this represents a demonstration of how far the musicological approach -- under the best of conditions (see discussion of Indian musicology above) -- can take the analyst toward describing and explaining Qawwali music. The result will then serve as the take-off point for the analysis of Qawwali in performance which is to be undertaken in the salient third section of the thesis.

In terms of its content, this musicological analysis deals with the sound structure of Qawwali by setting out the framework, units and rules of the music. The aim is to present a music analysis akin to a musical gramar in such terms as to satisfy two requirements essential for achieving the ultimate goal of this project. Once is accessibility to tests of verification, replication and comparison; the other is useability and manipulability in the context of a broader analytical perspective that includes non-musical variables. To fulfill these conditions, I consider it necessary to first clarify the basic musicological assumptions and then to set out the analytical model with reference to the focus of the analysis. This particularly, because in ethnomusicology there is at yet no framework for music analysis which is generally accepted and systematically worked out, especially one that accommodates input from indigenous -- here: Indian -- musicology in a systematic way. What follows, therefore, is a brief outline of the particular analytical approach developed for, and used in the analysis of the Qawwali musical sound structure.

In accord with the logical priority of the analyst's categories basic musical concepts and terminology used are Western, as is the system of staff notation that serves to represent musical sound visually. Indian musical concepts, when used, are noted and identified as such, but rendered in terms of the Western framework. This is quite possible since contemporary writers on Indian musicology have gone far toward expressing Indian musical concepts in terms of Western analytical notions (see Indian Musicology above, p. 14 ff.). My primary source here is the work of Powers, both as regards expressing Indian musical concepts "in translation" and as to the use of certain linguistic analogies for the purpose of relating those concepts systematically.

The analytical framework consists of a set of four musical parameters derived from Western music theory: pitch, duration, formal structure and acoustic articulation. This last parameter approximates what is more conventionally termed "performance style"; the term "acoustic articulation" is chosen to clearly set apart those features of performance style which are connected to the musical sound system, as against other, nonmusical aspects of performance presentation.

Standard musicological and ethnomusicological usage provide an adequate basis for defining all four parameters (Nettl, 1964, Asch, 1972). But to apply them in analysis requires in addition a clarification as to how these parameters are related to each other in the analytical framework.

Of the four parameters, pitch and duration are the primary dimensions in music which account for melody and rhythm respectively, but also in complement, since music consists of sound in time. Features of formal structure, as well, can be reduced to pitch and durational elements, but formal structure nevertheless requires to be dealt with at a distinct level of analysis. Acoustic presentation, including mainly features of performance style and ensemble, is less immediately related to the other parameters, but often contains identifying characteristics salient to the musical idiom (see below).

The investigation of music in terms of its components requires the conceptual separation of pitch and durational elements, since every musical event has a measurable pitch frequency and duration. For this purpose the analytical framework provides a grid for analysing musical sound elements in terms of pitch and duration, in the sense laid out by Asch in his analysis of Slavey Music (Asch 1972: 95-117). In addition, this framework must also serve the analysis of the organizing principles that govern those sound elements, for if music is organized sound, it is the principles of musical organization that render the elements intelligible. Indeed, these organizing principles, once identified, may provide a key to test the very isolation or definition of those elements or "minimal units" of the music in question. The application of this tenet to Indian art music by Powers (1958) is relevant to the present analysis notwithstanding the specific differences between the musical idioms in question. In accordance with these premises I propose to deal with pitch duration, and form by establishing for each first the frame of reference and the units of organization, and then the principles of structuring that are applied to those units within their frame of reference. The resulting analysis of each parameter of Qawwali music is summarized in a set of tables (Table 2-5).

Since this analysis is based on the interpretation of indigenous music theory, it is also necessary to present, at least in a summary form, the ethnographic evidence used, so as to give the reader better access to verification. Accordingly, the Qawwali musical frame of reference -- as arrived at by this analyst -- is outlined in a set of appendices (Appendices 2-5) which may be read in conjunction with the tables. In addition, musical conceptions used by performers to articulate about Qawwali are discussed in the text where relevant.

The proposed analytical procedure provides adequate terms to describe the musical features of Qawwali. However, the result would show Qawwali music differing in only a few respects from a number of other musical idioms of North India, without accounting for these features that identify Qawwali particularly. The fact is that musical structures are not unique to single communities within the North Indian culture area. Rather, they are generalizedd systems of sound communication thtat are used throughout that area, often transcending linguistic, regional, religious or ethnic boundaries. Within that common musical frame of reference, different musical idioms exist side by side, serving different purposes in different contexts of performance. To the extent that they share that common musical frame of reference, these idioms may be said to be mutually intelligible in terms of musical sound structure. What distinguishes them from one another, and thus identifies any single musical idiom, are one or more particular musical features related or associated with the idiom's particular function or context of use (for ex. other than Qawwali see Qureshi 1969, 1981). Indeed, these may be said to constitute the distinctive features of such a musical idiom.

To reflect this musical reality appropriately, I propose that an analysis of Qawwali -- or of any musical idiom within the North Indian music area -- should consist of two stages. In the first stage the musicological model identified above is applied so as to place the musical structure of Qawwali within its frame of reference of North Indian music. The second stage consists of identifying thos musical features that distinguish Qawwali from the common background. This means that a procedure for isolating distinctive of characteristic features of Qawwali music must be incorporated into the music analysis. Such a procedure requires that the musicological model be expanded to accommodate those contextual or functional "clues" that lead to the identification of such musical features. This is particularly important since it is the association of these features with the idiom's fuction or use context that makes them distinctive to its users.

For Qawwali it is the religious function of the music which provides the entire key to its distinctive musical features. Hence, to achieve stage two in the music analysis, I propose to link the religious function of Qawwali to the music in a very simple linear model: The function defined in terms of basic components generates constraints that can be seen to operate upon the music in specific ways, resulting in musical features which thus represent that function. These constitute the distinctive features of Qawwali musical structure.

Without presenting literal evidence in the form of appendices, it must be added here that the ethnographic source for the identification of distinctive musical features on the basis of functional constraints is the musical knowledge of the Qawwali performer. This is not to say that every Qawwal has conceptualized this knowledge, but rather that it is functionally present and expressed at some level of awareness, depending both on how much training a performer has in musical theory and how much exposure to Sufi ideology.

To complete this analytical step it reamins now to put stages one and two together by incorporating the distinctive features into the musicological model of four parameters. This is readily achieved by means of an appropriate categorization through which the distinctive features are identified within the context of their respective parameters (see Table 6). Inserting the relevant functional constraints represents an expansion of the traditional model for musicological analysis, but an expansion that is formal rather than substantive in nature. It basically consists of no more than formalizing what many musicologists and ethnomusicologists have long acknowledged: the fact that there are features of musical structure which are directly constrained by features of other structures through functional association -- whether these be textual enchancement and arousal, as in Qawwali, or the patterning of dance movements, as in the Slavey drum dance (Asch 1973). It follows that a musical grammer should allow for the expression of input from such structures so that this dependence can be accounted for.

However, there is one set of musical features which even this expanded musicological analysis cannot accommmodate, because they relate not to the structure of Qawwali music but to the way that structure is operationalized in performance. These are the features relating to flexibility of structure. While this analysis can generate an abstract model of Qawwali formal structure in terms of an inventory of units and rules (see Tables 7-12), it cannot deal with their application in the concrete. It is at this point that the musicological approach has reached its limits, for it simply fails to account for the way Qawwali is programmed in performance. And it is at this point, in the anlysis, therefore, that a new approach has to be introduced which will expand these limits so as to allow for the incorporation of the performance process of Qawwali. This can only be done by admitting the context of performance into the analysis.

CHAPTER 3

THE QAWWALI MUSICAL IDIOM

A Musical Frame of Reference

Qawwali music forms part of a larger musical context characterized by common features which musically aware members of the culture take for granted, along with the musical associations such features may evoke. I propose to begin the analysis of Qawwali music by identifying those features for Qawwali and at the same time define its place within the Indian musical context, thus establishing the musical background or frame of reference for the Qawwali idiom. The analytical framework developed for this purpose is clearly related to the indigenous framework of musical categories, as presented in Appendix 2 (see below), but modified to serve the purpose of analysis.

Qawwali music has its musical roots in northern India and forms part of the Indian musical language in its northern version -- as opposed to Southern Indian music (see Powers 1970 for distinguishing features). This means that Qawwali shares with all other North Indian music certain basic features of musical organization and presentation, as follows:

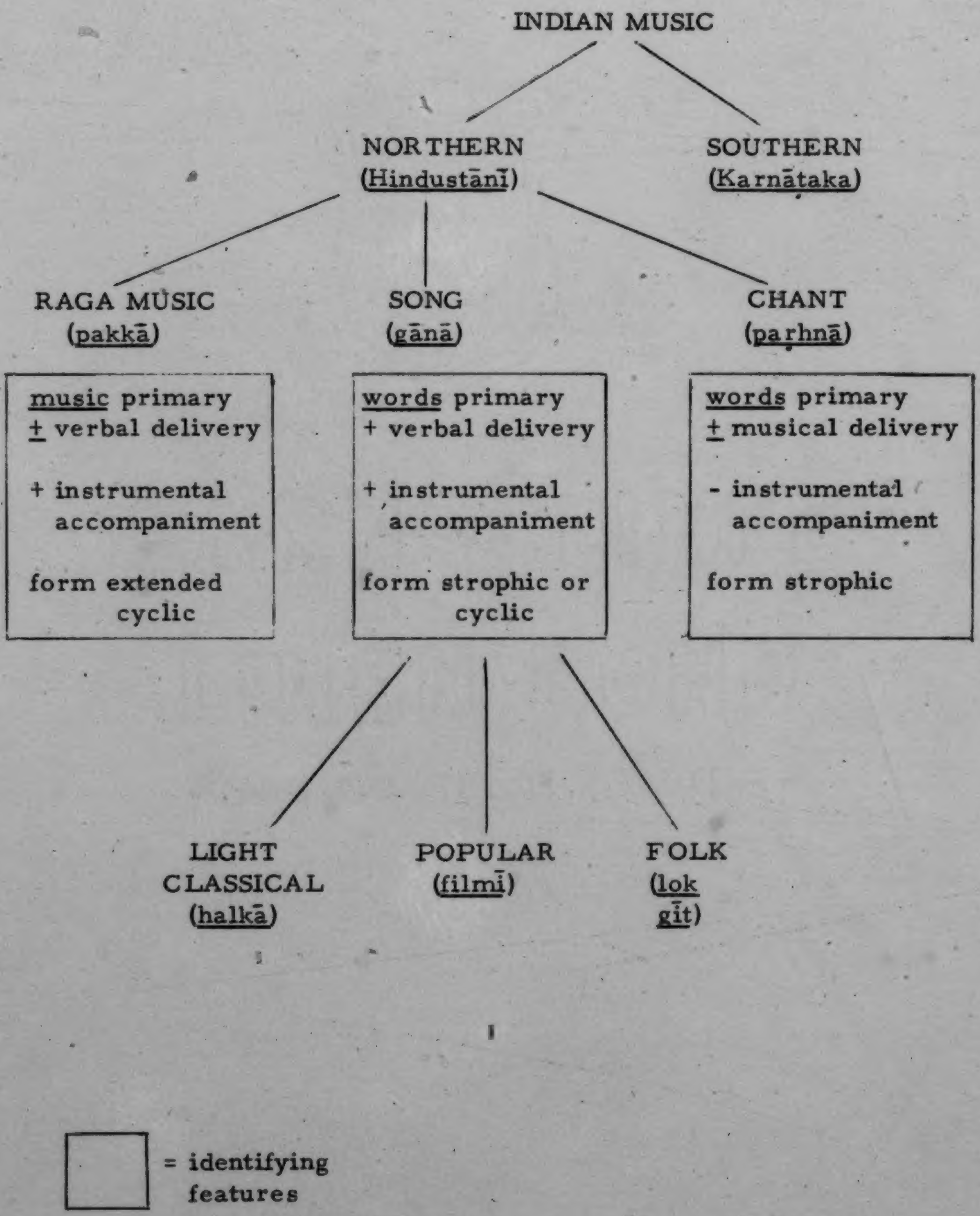
1) a tonal framework based on a central octave of seven scale steps, marked by tonal centres -- system tonic and usually fifth -- and organized into a variety of modal scale arrangements that form the basis for monophonic pitch movement,
2) a rhythmic framework of musical meters organized in a variety of additive arrangements,

3) a formal organization into performance units or "compositions" with tonal and metric consistency and containing repeatable sections differentiated by register,
4) an ensemble structure centered upon one melodic line, with optional melodic and rhythmic support.

Within the North Indian musical language, the Qawwali idiom falls into the broad category of "song", i.e. the musical setting of a text. As schematized in Table 2, this makes Qawwali distinct from classical or rage music on one side and from chanted poetry or recitation on the other. Classical music, on one extreme, is characterized by the primacy of music over text. Thus verbal delivery may be present, as is the case where texts are used for singing; but they may also be absent, as is the case in vocal improvisation and in all instrumental music. Furthermore, instrumental accompaniment is present to reinforce the musical dimension of rhythm as well as that of melody. Finally, extended cyclical forms allow for extensive musical development. Chant, on the other extreme, is characterized by the primacy of the word over its musical delivery; indeed, spoken declamation may be substituted for recitation with a singing voice. Pure music in the form of instrumental accompaniment is entirely absent. The formal structure closely follows the structure of the text which normally consists of strophic poetry; accordingly chant formal structure is strophic.

The central category of "song" falls in between the other two, combining elements from both classical music and recitation. Together with other types of song, Qawwali thus shows the following musical traits:

TABLE 2: MUSICAL CATEGORIES


INDIAN MUSIC
NORTHERN (Hindustānī)
SOUTHERN (Karnāṭaka)
RAGA MUSIC (pakkā)
SONG (gānā)
CHANT (paṛhnā)
music primary
± verbal delivery
+ instrumental accompaniment
form extended cyclic
words primary
+ verbal delivery
+ instrumental accompaniment
form strophic or cyclic
words primary
± musical delivery
- instrumental accompaniment
form strophic
LIGHT CLASSICAL (halkā)
POPULAR (filmī)
FOLK (lok gīt)
= identifying features

APPENDIX 2: MUSICAL CATEGORIES
According to Delhi Qawwals

GĀNĀ (singing)	(identification by genre)
PAKKĀ - (classical)	dhurpad khayāl tarānā asthāyī
HALKĀ - (light)	thumrī dādrā ghazal ṭappā qawwālī
FILMĪ, BAZĀRĪ (popular)	filmī ghazal filmī qawwalī filmī gīt
(LOK GĪT) - (folk song)	shādī kā gānā lorī (etc.)

PAṚHNĀ (reciting)	(identification by occasion)
TARANNUM -	musha'ira
NA'TKHWĀNĪ -	mīlād
SOZKHWĀNĪ, - MARSIYĀKHWĀNĪ	majlis

1) Music and text are interlinked and fused into one musical whole in which the text is the primary message -- as against both raga music, where the music is primary and its verbal delivery entirely subordinate and recitation, where the text is primary and its musical delivery entirely subordinate.
2) The musical form may be strophic or cyclic, depending on the presence of a refrain, but it always represents the formal structure of the text -- as opposed to the extended cyclical forms of raga music.
3) The musical setting includes instrumental accompaniment -- as opposed to recitation which is strictly unaccompanied.

Of the different types of North Indian song, Qawwali most closely fits under the rubric of "light classical", along with other supralocal song genres that are the preserve of specialist performers. This means that Qawwali shares with other light classical songs a certain musical flexibility that allows for musical enhancement by means of techniques of classical music, but also for adaptations from popular and folk song.

It is within this musical context that Qawwali may now be analysed musically by establishing the framework of pitch, duration, formal structure and acoustic presentation for this musical idiom.

Pitch

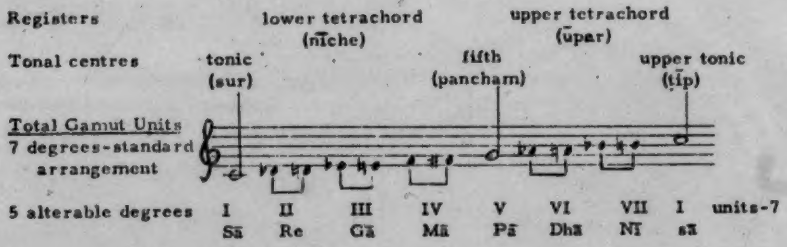
The pitch framework of Qawwali is represented by Qawwali performers themselves in the terminology of classical music, used selectively and with modifications to express the musical particularities of Qawwali. The concepts behind the classical terminology provide the basis for the present analysis which is summarized on Table 3. The way performers conceive of pitch and melody is outlined in Appendix 3. It should be mentioned that Qawwals rarely use this pitch framework in abstraction, except as a teaching tool, but they are cognizant of it; indeed, they consider pitch and its dimensions as the very basis of singing.

The fundamental principle of pitch organization is octave equivalence, based on a system tonic and its upper octave. The tonal gamut comprises seven pitch classes or tones denoted by the same collective term used for pitch in general: *sur*. These tones or scale degrees are named as in classical music (i.e. *sā*, *re*, *gā*, etc., see Table 3), and represent a pitch arrangement quite corresponding to that of the European tonic solfa system (i.e. do, re, mi, etc). The basic point of reference for the scale is the system tonic, significantly named "tone" (*sur*) as well, i.e. tone *par excellence*. Two more points of reference, related to the tonic and reinforcing it, complete the basis outline of the pitch framework: the upper tonic, named "high pitch" (*ṭīp*), and the fifth above the lower tonic, simply named "fifth" (*pancham*). All these three pitches can also serve as a drone. Each of the remaining five scale degrees can occur at either of two positions -- lowered (*utrā*) and raised (*chaṛhā*). The resulting gamut is thus the equivalent of the European gamut of twelve semitones. Their intonation is quite adequately represented by the tempered gamut of the harmonium which is used constantly to reinforce the voices in Qawwali performance.

In their standard version, as used e.g. in teaching beginners, the seven scale degrees correspond to the standdard scale arrangement of North Indian classical music (*bilāval ṭhāṭ*) which is equivalent to the

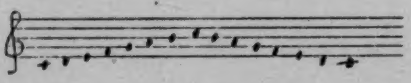
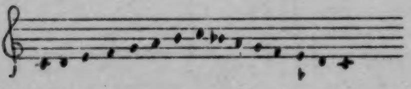
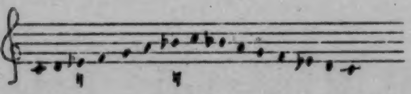
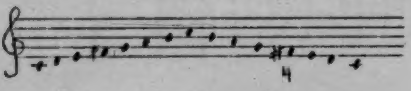
TABLE 3: PITCH ANALYSIS
Musical Frame of Reference

a) Pitch Framework and Units


Registers
lower tetrachord
(nīche)
upper tetrachord
(ūpar)
Tonal centres
tonic
(sur)
fifth
(pancham)
upper tonic
(ṭīp)
Total Gamut Units
7 degrees-standard arrangement
5 alterable degrees
I
Sā
II
Re
III
Gā
IV
Mā
V
Pā
VI
Dhā
VII
Nī
I
sā
units-7

b) Scale Arrangements

Most frequently used arrangements:

classical scale arrangement	motion ascending descending	approximate frequency of Q usage
Bilaval (standard scale arrangement for Q)		13%
khamāj		35%
kāfī		30%
kalyān		9%

* also used

Ragas favoured in Qawwali settings: bāgeshrī, kāfī, shāhānā, bahār, jaijaivantī

c) Pitch Movement

registrality - moving in high/low register (ūpar/nīche bolnā)
directionality - moving to/from high/low register (no term)
parallelism - correspondence between registers, also sequential repetition (no term)
tonal circumscription - moving with reference to a tonal centre (murkī, palṭī)
motivic structuring - general patterning (phailao, chalat phirat)
- specific patterning (tān
ālāp
sargam
sargam kī āṛ)

d) Pitch Constructs (Melody)

scale arrangement + pitch movement - motives
combination of motives - melodic setting (ṭhāṭ, bandish)
motivic consistency - Raga setting

APPENDIX 3: PITCH CONCEPTS
According to Delhi Qawwals

a) Basic Concept

sur = tone, pitch (besur=off pitch)

b) Pitch Framework and Units

-	-	sur(7)	sargam	-
(register)	(tonal centre)	(degree, pitch class)	(solmization)	(modification)
	ṭīp	sur/tīp	sā	
ūpar	(upper tonic)	nikhāt	nī	
(high)		dhaivat	dhā	utrī
	pancham	pancham	pā	(lowered)
	(fifth)	madhyam	mā	
nīche		gandhār	gā	chaṛhī
(low)		rikhab	re	(raised)
	sur (tonic)	sur	sā	

c) Pitch Movement

registral:	ūpar bolnā (move in the upper register)
	nīche bolnā (move in the lower register)
motivic-general:	phailāo (melodic expansion)
	chalat phirat (moving around melodically)
motvic-specific:	tān (passage)
	ālāp (raga expositions)
	sargam (solfa passage)
	sargam kī āṛ (rapid movement "across" gamut)
	murkī, palṭī (melodic turn)

d) Pitch Constructs

rāg	consistent, systematized melodic pattern
ṭhāṭ	consistent melodic setting
bandish	setting of tune
tarz	(old) tune
dhun	(contemporary, popular) tune

Western major scale. But Qawwali music occurs in quite a variety of scalar combinations very much like those of the "light" or "mixed" ragas of light classical music. Most Qawwali scales are diatonic. A majority of scalar arrangements correspond to those of a European c, d, or g mode, but very often include both versions of a scale degree used alternatively, depending on the melodic movement (for discussion of this principle see Jairazbhoy 1970:102 ff, also Qureshi 1981:23). Certain ragas of classical music are also used in Qawwali. Table 3 lists Qawwali scale arrangements and the ragas favoured in Qawwali melody in accordance with their frequency of occurence.

Within this tonal framework pitch movement in Qawwali is oriented around tonal centre and register, and is governed by principles of directionality, parallelism and tonal circumscription. The concepts of tonal centre and register have both been well established by the Indian classical theorists as organizing principles of melodic structure (defined and reviewed by Powers 1980: II, 1 and 2, also in 25 and 29 f, and 1970:46), and Qawwali performers recognize them to a degree, though without abstracting them. The concept of tonal centre arises from the basic conception of a pitch framework with fixed points of reference which in Qawwali music are a tonic, upper tonic and fifth. The concept of register for Qawwali is closely related to the concept of tonal centre, in that a register may be considered as a tonal space bounded by or defined with reference to one or more tonal centres. This means that pitch movement within a register entails reference to a tonal centre as well. In Qawwali music, two basic registers are recognized within the basic pitch framework of the octave: the lower register -- between tonic and fifth --, and the higher register -- between fifth and upper tonic. Qawwals simply term them "low" (nīche) and "high" (ūpar) respectively. The reference point for the lower register is the tonic; accordingly, pitch movement in this register may also extend to pitches below the tonic (ex. 5: 344, Section A). The reference point for the higher register may be either the upper tonic or the fifth; accordingly, pitch movement for fifth reference may include pitches below the fifth (ex. 5: 344, Section B), while pitch movement for upper tonic reference may extend into the octave above (ex. 1: 324, Section B).

In addition to this primary framework of tonal centre and register, a common secondary point of reference for pitch movement is the third above the tonic, functioning as tonal focus between tonic and fifth without changing the tetrachordal basis of the registers (ex. 6:349). Much less common is the presence of a raga-like framework with secondary tonal centres that impose different registers as well (ex. 4:340).

Among principles of pitch movement, directionality in Qawwali stands in direct reference to the concept of register and quite corresponds to classifications of directional movement found in Indian classical theory (summarized by Powers ms p. 26, 28 ff and 1980: III ff). Thus directional pitch movement either rising or falling, principally serves the purpose of moving from one register to another (ex. 2:329).

Parallelism generally takes place within the registral frame of reference as well, taking the form of tetrachordal correspondence (ex.6:349). It can also occur as sequential repetition, expecially in tunes derived from popular music (ex. 7:355, 8:356).

Tonal circumscription, finally, is a principle of pitch movement denoting melodic motion around a single tone by the use of neighbouring tones. It is closely related to the concept of tonal centre, for it generally represents pitch movement circumscribing a tonal centre (ex. 6:349, 2:329). When occurring in the telescoped form of a deliberate melodic ornamentation Qawwals identify it by one of the standard musical terms of melodic "turn" (*murkī* or *palṭī*, ex. 2:330).

The application of all these principles within the given pitch framework results in what could be called the building blocks or units of Qawwali melody: pitch sequences or motives set within a definite tonal framework whose individual pitches are ordered in accordance with the above principles of pitch movement. Traditional Qawwali melody consists of combinations of such pitch sequences or motives. Qawwali performers term such entities "melodic setting" or "tune" (*ṭhāṭ*, *bandish*, see Appendix 3). If there is complete consistence between the motives of one such entity, and if melodic patterning is governing the use of the entire gamut, then the result is a raga-like melody. Qawwali boasts of a number of such melodic settings, some identified with specific raga names, either of classical music (e.g. the famous *Bakhūbī* in raga *shāhānā*--see p. 131 below--, or the *Basant* song *Phūl rahī sarsoṅ*--see p. 252 below--in raga *bahār*) or of a specific Qawwali tradition (ex. 4:336), others recognizeable as classical ragas but not identified (ex. 2:331).

In the majority of Qawwali tunes, however, motivic consistency obtains only to a limited degree, resulting in a wide variety of song-like tunes with an individual melodic contour but some basic motivic traits that identify the "setting" (*ṭhāṭ*) and delimit the scope for melodic improvisation within the song (ex. 2:329-30). Most traditional Qawwali tunes fall into this broad category, as do tunes adapted from folksong (ex. 5:341 ff) or popular song.

It is important to note, as a final point, that motivic patterning, i.e. patterning purely at the dimension of pitch, is minimal in a great many Qawwali tunes because very strong durational and formal patterning dominates Qawwali music, as the analysis of those parameters will show. In fact, special "recitative" or declamatory passages may be inserted into Qawwali songs, where melodic structuring is limited to orientation around tonal centres and motivic patterning is largely absent, due to other structuring priorities.

Duration

Much like in the case of pitch, Qawwali performers represent duration in terms of concepts familar from classical music, though sometimes using divergent terminology. As in classical usage, it is the durational framework and its articulation which are conceptualized most systematically--predictably so, since these concepts serve as teaching tools for drumming. The durational organization of melody is conceived of in less descriptive terms, or else is expressed through non-musical association. Appendix 4 presents an outline of performers' durational concepts; Table 4 summarizes the analytical presentation of Qawwali duration.

The framework of durational organization is founded on the concept of rhythm (lai). Rhythm is realized in terms of musical meters (thekā) which are composed of a set number of pulses (mātrā) organized additively

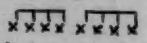
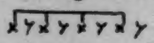
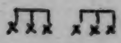
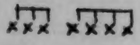
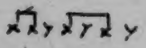
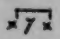
TABLE 4: DURATIONAL ANALYSIS
Musical Frame of Reference

a) Durational Framework

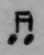
musical meter (ṭhekā)
↳ set number of pulses (mātrā)
↳ organized into groupings (no term)
↳ marked by stress (zarb)
↳ through clapping (tāl)
and drum beat (thāp)

b) Metric Patterns

Patterns in standard use:

meter		standard arrangement	alternative arrangement
4 + 4 (kaharvā or qawwālī)	pulses: stresses:	 > >	 >
3 + 3 (dādrā or ektāl)		 > >	
3 + 4 (pashto, rūpak or chāchar)		 > >	 > or 

c) Pitch Duration

primary units	"short"	= one pulse long	
	"long"	= two pulses long	
subsidiary units	"extended long"	= several pulses long, most often =	
	"divided short"	= most often 1/2 pulse long =	

APPENDIX 4: DURATIONAL CONCEPTS
According to Delhi Qawwals

a) Basic Concept

lai = measured rhythm

b) Durational Framework and Units

thekā	meter	
		theke kī bandish = (drum) setting of meter
		bol = drum stroke syllable
mātrā	pulse	
zarb	stress	
		tāl = clap on stress
		thāp drum slap on stress
sam	initial stress (used in longer metric settings)	

c) Metric Patterns

Thekā:

kaharvā/qawwālī kā thekā

8 mātre (pulses)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
zarb (stress)	x				x			
tāl (clap)	x				(x)			
thāp (drum slap)	x				x			

dādrā

6 mātre (pulses)	1	2	3	4	5	6
zarb (stress)	x			x		
tāl (clap)	x			(x)		
thāp (drum slap)	x			(x)		

pashto/rupak

7 mātre (pulses)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
zarb (stress)	x			x			
tāl (clap)	x			(x)			
thāp (drum slap)	x			x			

d) Pitch Duration

mātrā = pulse
waqfā = pause

into groupings with an equal or unequal number of pulses. Nearly all Qawwali meters consists of two such groupings, each of which is marked with an initial stress. Thus the most common Qawwali meters are 4+4 (*kaharvā*, *qawwālī ka ṭhekā*, see ex. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7), 3+3 (*dādrā*), and 3+4 (*pashto*, *rūpak*, see ex. 3, 4), as listed in Table 4 and Appendix 4.

This rhythmic framework operates in Qawwali music at two levels; one as a purely rhythmic dimension articulated percussively by drumming and clapping, the other as the organizing durational principle governing Qawwali melody, both as regards the duration of individual pitch units and their organization into larger pitch sequences. There are two standard units of pitch duration. Using terminology borrowed from European music theory, one may be called the "short", equal to one pulse (*mātrā*) of the meter, the other the "long", equal to two pulses in duration. Additional units are what may be called the "extended long", most often with a duration of four pulses, and the "divided short", nearly always one half of a pulse long.

The units of musical duration are combined with reference to the metric framework on the basis of a principle that includes both "quantity"--i.e. measured duration of the meter--and "quality"--i.e. the stress points marking the groupings of the meter. How this dual principle of durational movement is applied within the given durational framework is based, in Qawwali on non-musical factors to be discussed in the section to follow. To a limited extent, however, it is also a function of purely musical factors, mainly indicating regional and genre style (*ang*). Thus tunes from the two principal regions of the Qawwali tradition, Uttar Pradesh and Panjab, can be distinguished mainly by their rhythmic setting or "gait" (*chāl*). A predominantly quantitative emphasis characterizes tunes from Utter Pradesh (ex. 5:341), while Panjabi tunes tend to be rhythmically organized according to quality (ex. 7:352). Along with this differentiation in the thythmic setting of the tune goes also a difference in the rhythmic setting of the meter as articulated on the drum (*ṭheke kī bandish*), which in Panjab is more strongly accentual than in Uttar Pradesh.

At special points there are durational arrangements in Qawwali melody which do not refer to a metric framework at all; during "recitative" inserts and introductory verses when the drummed meter is either absent (ex. 9:358) or reduced to a background pulsation, to be reimposed upon the melody at resumption of the regular tone (ex. 10:363, ex. 11:368).

Formal Structure

The framework and units of formal organization summarized on Table 5 correspond to the concepts of classical Indian music and are expressed by Qawwali performers in analogous, but somewhat simplified terminology, as listed in Appendix 5.

Formal structure covers the larger dimension of Qawwali musical organization and relates to melody and rhythm at a higher level level of inclusion. Indeed it is the constructs of pitch and duration which are the constituent elements of formal structure. In Qawwali music, as in North Indian classical music, units of formal structure are conceptualized in terms of melodic rather than rhythmic constructs. Accordingly, a formal unit may be defined as consisting musically of a

TABLE 5: FORMAL STRUCTURE ANALYSIS
Musical Frame of Reference

a) Framework and Units

Framework: Item of Performance (chīz) = multiple of tune (dhun, tarz)

Tune (dhun, tarz) = minimal sequence of two complementary sections, in basic A B A arrangement.

Units: Sections = A section (asthāyī, also mukhṛā)
- with lower register and tonic emphasis.

B section (antarā)
- with upper register and upper tonic or fifth emphasis.

A^e section (no term)
- extension of A section.

B^e section (no term or antarā)
- extension of B section

b) Principles of Formal Structuring

to repeat sections (dohrānā)

to establish registral contrast (ūpar bolnā, nīche bolnā)

to connect by directional movement (no term)

APPENDIX 5: CONCEPTS OF FORMAL STRUCTURE
According to Delhi Qawwals

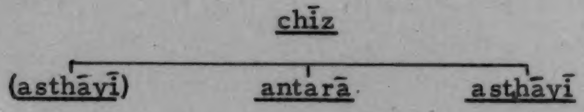
a) Framework and Units

chīz	piece, song
tarz dhun	tune, musical setting of song
asthāyī	lower-pitched, concluding or "staying" section
antarā	higher-pitched, initial or "intermittent" section

b) Principles of Construction

dohrānā	reiteration, repetition
takrār	incessant repetition
ūpar bolnā	high-pitched exposition
nīche bolnā	low-pitched exposition

c) Basic Formal Scheme



number of melodic constructs, i.e. motives. At the same time, formal units are always subject to the durational constraint of rhythmic constructs, i.e. a meter. Finally, while dealing here with formal structure in purely musical terms, it must be noted that Qawwali formal structure is dependent on textual structure in a more fundamental way than either melody or rhythm, since its very framework, the Qawwali song, is defined by the textual unit of performance, the poem (see Appendix 7-11 below).

Musically, the, formal organization is conceived of within the framework of what may be called the unit or item of performance bounded by silence, i.e. the song or, as performers call it, the "piece" or "item" (chīz, a term held in common with classical music). Identified by a consistent tonal organizational and durational pattern, the item of performance musically consists of a "setting" or "tune" (tarz, dhun). Melodically a setting is composed of several, usually different, motives and corresponds to the "melodic setting" discussed above (p. 46). Rhythmically, it consists of several rounds of a metric pattern (see p. 47). Within one item of performance the setting is stated at least once, but more usually it is repeated a number of times.

Within the framework of the musical setting there is a structuring into two complementary sections which, too, are repeatable. These basic units of formal organization are characterized by registral pitch emphasis: The first and principal section establishes tonic and tonality in the form of the main "burden" of the item or song, by moving mainly in the lower part of the octave. The second, complementary section establishes a tonal center above the tonic, usually the upper tonic or else the fifth, by moving mainly in the upper part of the octave. As in Indian classical music, the first part is called "permanent" or "staying" (*asthāyī*), the second "intermittent" or "intervening" (*antarā*). The two sections have a musical connotation of complementarity: The *asthāyī* representing the stability associated with the base portion of the tonal system and thus suggesting recurrence or conclusion, while the *antarā* suggests an intermittent excursion into the upper reaches of the tonal gamut (all exs.). In addition to these two essential units there may be sections which can be broadly classed as extensions of either *asthāyī* or *antarā*, moving in their respective registers and expanding or completing their respective melodic material (ex. 1:324, ex. 3:334). Performers do not name these extensions separately.

The registral contrast between sections, in Qawwali as in other North Indian song forms, may be complemented by parallelism between sections. This takes the form of melodic and rhythmic equivalence and occurs most often in the final portion of two sections (ex. 2:329, ex. 4:340, ex. 6:349).

The combination of these structural units or sections is governed by three musical principles of formal construction. The first one, fundamental to all formal structuring, is repetition and takes the form of simple reiteration (*dohrānā* , multiple repetition (*takrār*) and recurrence (no term). The second one is the establishment of registral contrast between higher and lower units (*ūpar*, *bolnā*, *nīche*, *bolnā*), based on the recognized musical connotation of higher register with initial or intervening statement (i.e *antarā*), and of lower register with concluding statement (i.e. *asthāyī*). The third one is the connection of units by means of directional pitch movement. It is based on the connotation--derived directly from that of registrality--that descending pitch movement signals a low pitch register and ascending pitch movement a high pitch register. Directional movement occurs as a melodic adjustment between one formal unit and the next one. Operative at endings as well as at beginnings of structural units or sections in a song, this principle most commonly takes the form of alternative endings used to indicate the pitch register of the unit that is to follow, whether that be the next unit in sequence or the same unit repeated.

Formal structuring within the framework of a Qawwali item or song, then, works as follows: the units of formal structure, i.e. the sections--principally asthāyī and antarā and their extensions--are characterized and distinguished by registral contrast, established and identified by repetition, and connected by directional melodic movement. All three are standard structuring principles of North Indian music, but unlike the first two, the principle of directional pitch movement is not generally identified in writings on Indian music. Nor indeed do Qawwali pereformers themselves abstract it verbally, even though it is clearly a prominent feature of formal structuring Qawwali music.

The application of these principles, as well as the sequencing of the sections within one song setting in Qawwali are largely determined by non-musical factors to be discussed in the following section. However, whatever the resulting formal structure, it invariably moves within the confines of a basic formal scheme common to North Indian musical genres: A registrally low section is established as a meaningful unit by its repeatability, thus defining the song's musical identity. Then a registrally higher section is also established by repetition. It is prefigured by an initial rise in pitch and expands the melodic setting initiated by the first section by adding a second contrasting portion in a new register. Descending pitch movement to the end of the second section leads back into the original or first section which is the one that utlimately concludes the song. This basis cheme of low section, high section, and concluding return to low section (exemplified musically in ex. 5:344) may be called a loose A-B-A frame; it can be multiplied by repetition or expanded by means of additional sections, but the structuring principle remains the same.

Acoustic Articulation

The texture of Qawwali music, as that of North Indian song in general, has three components. The melodic line, principal channel of musical communication, is vocalized by one or more singer. The musucal meter is articulated on the dholak drum; finally, the pitch outline of the melody is reinforced on the portable harmonium. More specific aspects of acoustic articulation are linked to contextual factors to be discussed in the next section. These include the structuring of the choral ensemble, vocal delivery, drum articulation, and pacing.

B Distinctive Features

So far what has been outlined is the musical framework of Qawwali, i.e. what is musically "given" in the general run of the North Indian song tradition. To analyse the specific idiom of Qawwali music requires an understanding of the functional constraints that operate upon this generalized musical framework. These constraints represent various aspects of that function at different levels.

The first step in this stage of the musical analysis is to define the function of Qawwali in terms of its components and then to isolate the functional constraints as they relate to their functional basis. Then it can be shown how these constraints operate on the musical framework, and how they are manifested in specific musical traits, the distinctive features of Qawwali.

The function of Qawwali music, in accordance with its place in the ideology of Sufism (see Preface p. x and below p.98 ff) is to serve the presentation of mystical poetry in order to arouse mystical emotion in an assembly of listeners with diverse and changing innter needs. Three basic components characterize this function: 1) Arousing 2) through texts 3) diverse listeners. For the purpose of a systematic presentation, the three functional components need to be isolated, so that each can be linked to the contextual constraints it generates. It can then be shown how each of these constraints operate on the musical framework in specific musical terms. The following is an outline of this relationship between function, contextual constraints and musical idiom; the entire pattern is schematized in table form on Table 6.

The three functional components of Qawwali may be isolated in the following form:

1. Qawwali serves to generate spiritual arousal
2. Qawwali serves to convey a text message of mystical poetry
3. Qawwali serves to satisfy listeners' diverse and changing spiritual requirements.

TABLE 6: FUNCTIONAL CONSTRAINTS AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Functional Components and Requirements		Musical Execution: Distinctive Features
1. Spiritual Arousal	a) Supply strong rhythmic framework	Duration: -meter with regular and frequent stress repeat
	b) Supply strong stress pattern	Acoustic Presentation: -stress intensified by handclaps and open-hand drumming
2. Text Priority	a) Clarify text acoustically (clarity of words)	Acoustic Presentation: -high volume through voice quality -high volume through group reinforcement -sharp enunciation -continuous text presentation through group alternation
	b) Clarify text structurally (clarity of syntax)	Duration: -poetic meter represented in durational arrangement of melody (rhythm of tune) -poetic meter reflected in musical meter Formal Structure: -strophic form represented in musical structure -rhyme scheme represented in sectioning of tune Pitch: -units of strophe and poetic meter represented by melodic phrasing and contour
	(c) Clarify text semantically (clarity of content))	(Visual Presentation: -content emphasis through gestures "actions")
3. Listeners' Requirements	a) Provide flexible structural framework for text manipulation	Formal Structure: -all kinds of text units represented by musical units -manipulability of all musical units within overall structure through directional movement, manifested principally in alternative endings of musical units (alternative text options indicated by alternative endings of musical units)

( ) = controversial, nonstandard feature

From each of these three basic components of the Qawwali function emanate specific requirements for the music which result in a number of function-derived musical characteristics, as follows:

1. Spiritual Arousal

A strong rhythmic framework and an emphatic stress pattern or pulse (*zarb*) -- often compared with the heartbeat (also called *zarb*) by Qawwals and Sufis alike -- are considered essential for the soul to become moved (*qalb jārī hojānā*). In more concrete terms, the recurring beat is to suggest the continuous repetition of God's name (*zikr*), and to guide the Sufi's movement in ecstatic dancing (*raqs*) (see p. 79 f. below).

Musically, this dual requirement of a strong rhythmic framework and an emphatic stress pattern affects both duration and acoustic presentation. Thus, Qawwali music favours a durational framework consisting of meters with simple and regular durational patterns, clearly articulated by vigorous and recurring stresses. This means that nearly all Qawwali meters are short and composed of two simple groupings, normally of equal duration (i.e. the 3+3 *dādrā* or the 4+4 *kaharvā* see above p. 47 f and Table 4). It also means that all rhythmic groupings begin with a stressed beat, even where more complicated meters are used which formally exempt some groupings from stress (e.g. 3+4 *rūpak*, 4+4+4+4 *tīntal* or 2+3+2+3 *jhaptāl*, see Table 4).

The acoustic presentation of the rhythmic framework is characterized by two accentual techniques emphasizing stressed beats. One in handclapping, the other a drumming technique that uses mainly open-hand or flat-hand strokes (*ṭhāp*, *ṭhapiyā*). This technique is compatible with the *dholak*, the standard Qawwali drum, and even when the *tabla* is used, Qawwali performers play it with flat hand strokes (*ṭhāp se*), for the *tabla's* standard fingered technique (*chutkī se*) is considered to have no effect on listeners. Qawwals agree that with the downbeat of the drum the listener's heart moves in silent repetition of God's name (*zikr*), and his foot moves in the dance of ecstasy (*raqs*). Even the recurring drum beat alone may cause ecstasy. The conception also underlies the instrumental prelude which is based on the riteration of a *zikr* rhythm (cf. p.103 and ex. 8:356).

One other durational device related to spiritual arousal is increasing speed of delivery. This aspect of tempo is a characteristic feature for classical music performance as well; in Qawwali it specifically serves the intensification of spiritual emotion and is used selectively for this purpose. Conversely, a decrease in speed implies the relaxation of intense emotion, especially at the very end of a song.

2. Text Priority

The music must above all serve the clarification of the text, both acoustically by making it clearly audible, and structurally, by placing emphasis on the salient formal features of the poem. Qawwals themselves usually refer to their singing as "speaking" (*bolnā*), and their major concern is to make the words understood (*bol samjhānā*), both individually and as poetic constructs. This dual constraint fundamentally affects the musical parameters of duration and formal structure, as well as that of acoustic presentation.

a) The acoustic clarification of the text is achieved through establishing clarity as well as volume. Thus all singing is carried out at a high dynamic level and with strong, even exaggerated consonant enunciation. In accordance with this requirement, the ideal voice for a Qawwal is considered to be loud or full (*bharī huī*, *moṭī*), a voice with life (*jān*) and strength ((*zor*), rather than a very melodious (*surīlī*) or modulated voice (*klās* *kī*). Also important is the Qawwal's ability to project by pronouncing correctly and clearly. For additional volume, the solo voice is reinforced by group singing. Both clarity and volume are achieved in combination through the responsorial ensemble structure in which salient statements of any text unit are made by the soloist and repeated by the group. Finally, group alternation permits continuous singing, without instrumental interludes which keeps up what is primary in Qawwali, an uninterrupted verbal communication.

b) The structural clarification of the text takes place through two formal dimensions of Qawwali poetry, poetic meter and poetic form. Qawwals use the rhythmic pattern of the poem (*wazan*) as a guide to select a musical setting (*dhun*, *bandish*, *tarz* see ex. 6:348). Conversely, they conceive of an existing tune as representing a particular poetic meter and call it a "pattern tune" (*pattern dhun* see ex. 4:337 f) for poems with the same meter. Thus the Qawwali performer is aware that the musical rhythm emanates from the poetic meter (*zamīn*), is set musically into a tune (*dhun*), and put within a rhythmic framework (*thekā*) appropriate to that tune.

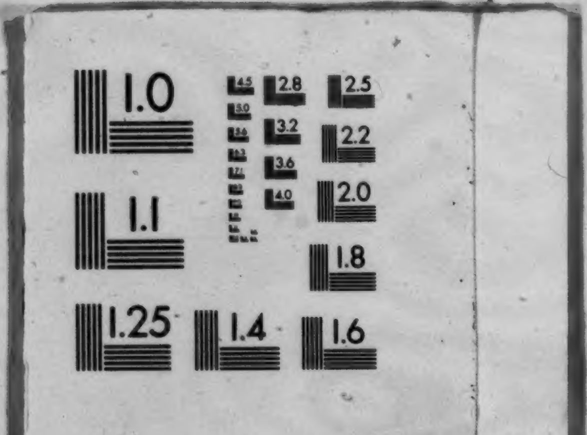
Musically the poetic meter is represented by the rhythm of the tune, both at the level of the durational units (long-short, etc.), and the durational framework (musical meter). At the level of the durational units this means that the long-short arrangement of the poetic meter (see p.113 ff and Table 14 below) forms the basis for the long-short arrangement of Qawwali melody, whether in a literal 2:1 proportion (i.e. one long = two short, see ex. 4:339, 5:343), or in various asymmetrical arrangements (i.e. one long > short. Hence, in the standard rhythmic representation of Qawwali verse patterns the durational unit representing a short syllable is doubled in length to represent a long syllable (i.e. if ⏑ = ♪, then — = ♩. see ex. 4:339, 5:343, ex. 6:348 - traditional version). Asymmetrical arrangements are characterized by long syllable units of varying duration, always multiples of the short durational unit (i.e. if ⏑ = ♪ , then — = > ♩, see ex. 2:329, ex. 6:348 - easy version, ex. 7:354). Alternatively, stress is sometimes used to make a long syllable musically, even though its duration may be short; this occurs mainly at the beginning of the verse line (see ex. 2:329).

At the level of the durational framework the musical meter represents, or at least fits the structure of the poetic meter. This means that the long-short pattern of the poetic meter is incorporated into the musical framework of a compatible musical meter (thekā) in an arrangement that expresses the rhythmic structure of the verse, whether literally or in a modified form. How literally the poetic meter is realized depends mainly on the degree of regularity in the poetic long-short pattern, but considerations of musical style also enter (see above p.58f).

As for poetic form, the strophic unit of the poem determines the overall formal structure of the musical setting, including the length, proportion and number of sections. The standard formal pattern of *asthāyī* and *antarā* sections is adapted to the formal rhyme scheme of the poem. Rhyming lines, which are normally in a concluding or refrain position, are set to the principal section of the tune, the lower-pitched *asthāyī*, which musically suggests stability and conclusiveness (see above p. 63). Non-rhyming lines which normally carry the poetic statement initiating a verse, are set to the intermittent section of the tune, the higher-pitched *antarā* which musically suggests an excursion into new territory. Verses with more than two lines are set to varying arrangements of these two sections or their extensions, but the final line of a verse is always an *asthāyī*, and the semantically most significant preceding line--initial or penultimate--is always an *antarā*. The very opening line of a Qawwali poem is always a rhyming or refrain line; at the same time, it is the opening statement of a verse requiring a conclusion. Musically, this duality is expressed by a dual setting, first to the *asthāyī*--in order to mark the line as a rhyming line or refrain--, and then to the *antarā*--in order to mark the line as an opening statement which is to be followed by the concluding second line (also rhyming), set to the *asthāyī* tune again. Throughout, the musical contrast marking *asthāyī* and *antarā* sections serve to underscore the complementarity between rhyming and non-rhyming lines, or "statement" and "answer".

As a final point it should be added that form and meter of the poem also constrain pitch movement of Qawwali music, albeit in an indirect way, by means of their influence on musical form and duration. Thus the formal units of the strophe also determine the length of the corresponding musical unit, whether that be an *asthāyī*, an *antarā*, or

2


1.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
6.3
7.1
8.0
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

their extensions. Overall melodic range and contour are affected; in particular, subdivisions resulting from a caesura within the verse line are often expressed melodically by complementary contouring (ex. 6:349 - *asthāyī*). Furthermore, melodic movement throughout a section reflects rhythmic characteristics of the poetic line (ex. 2:329). The most obvious musical result of such recurring formal features is melodic and rhythmic parallelism occurring between sections and also between parts within one section. Most prominently, it serves to mark the points of structure between verse lines through what amounts to a musical end rhyme or cadence[1] (ex. 2:329, 4:340, 6:349). Musically less literal is the parallelism found within lines to mark caesuras or even metric groupings by means of sequential or rhythmic repetition or tonal imitation (ex. 4:340). Ultimately, these features are functions, once again, of the interrelationship between the three musical parameters of form, melody and rhythm.

Performers express the structural dominance of the poem by their very vocabulary, identifying formal structure and elements of Qawwali music by poetic rather than musical terms, even where standard musical terms exist and are known to them. Thus the word commonly used for tune section is "verse line" (*misraʿ*), and the last or refrain section of a strope is called "salient word phrase" (*bol*). When dealing with songs in couplet form, Qawwals prefere to call *antarā* and *asthāyī* sections "first line" (*misraʿ ʿūlā*) and "second line" (*sānī misraʿ*). They even refer to singing a verse line to one or the other tune section as "saying (it) as first" (*ūlā bolnā*) and "saying (it) as second" (*sānī bolnā*).

c) The clarification of text content by means of visual presentation needs to be mentioned here although it is marginal to the Qawwali idiom in every sense, consisting of occasional gestures by the lead singer--mainly raising his hand to point or wave to a salient text phrase. Because its consistent execution runs counter to the spiritual function of Qawwali (see p.160 , 164 below), its practice is not standard; rather it distinguishes the popular, filmī qawwālī (cf. Table 2 and Appendix 2).

3. Listeners' Requirements

The Qawwali performer must be able to repeat, amplify, rearrange or even omit any part of the song text in immediate response to the changing requirements of his listeners. This presupposes total flexibility of the Qawwali musical structure, both as to the structural units and their manipulation. Accordingly, the established musical sections of Qawwali song structure--i.e. asthāyī and antarā and their extensions--are further divisbile into shorter musical units in order to accommodate even the shortest meaningful text unit that may require to be isolated and repeated. Furthermore, additional musical units are created as settings for text portions that may need to be inserted as well as for introductory verses.

Within the overall framework of the formal musical scheme and the durational pattern of the musical meter all these structural units are repeatable--both by single reiteration (dohrānā) and by the multiple repetition supporting intense arousal (takrā)--inserteable, and recombineable. Such musical flexibility implies a comprehensive application of the structuring principle of repetition (see above

p. 63 ff). Musically, this application is achieved by means of the other structuring principles, registrality and directional melodic movement. As already stated the recognized registral connotation of high pitch with initial statement and low pitch with conclusion underlies the musical setting of verse lines to antarā and asthāyī sections. This connotation is extended to directional melodic movement, for ascending pitch movement signals a high register and therefore the coming of an initial statement whereas descending pitch movement signals a low register and therefore the coming of a concluding statement. On the basis of this connotation directional melodic movement is used in Qawwali music not only to connect structural units but also as a semantic signalling device for the structuring of these units. It operates most prominently in the form of alternative unit endings which serve "allomorphically" to indicate what type of text unit is to follow (see all music ex.).

Alternative endings, in essence, function much like first and second endings in Western musical form, but there is no implication of conclusion for either ending. In its standard design a structural unit of Qawwali music ends melodically in such a way as to lead naturally to the unit next in sequence. If, instead, a repeat of the same unit--or the insertion of a different unit--is indicated, the melodic ending is then modified so as to lead back to the beginning of that unit--or to that of the new unit--, usually by means of a change in pitch direction. If the unit to be repeated or inserted and the one next in sequence begin at similar pitch levels, the repeat or insertion will be indicated by an upward pitch movement, suggesting more intermittent text material, whereas a downward pitch movement suggests completion of the statement.

The application of this principle of directionality extends in Qawwali to the connection of larger units of text structure, particularly serving to integrate inserted or introductory verses into the song proper. Musically rendered in a declamatory or recitative style, such units serve in toto as "statements" to be "answered" or concluded by the succeeding portion of the song. This is always achieved by means of a descending final melody to signal the end of one structural unit and a lead-back into the song proper (ex. 9:361f, 10:367, 11:370).
In short, directional movement is the prime syntactic principle of the Qawwali idiom. Essentially, it is a function of the capacity for unit manipulation inherent in the basic Indian approach to music, allowing this kind of music to be flexibly adapted to immediate ad hoc event in the performance context--for Qawwali music these events consist of the expression of listener's requirements.

Qawwali performers articulate about the units and rules of this structural manipulation in terms of the text, as they do with other dimensions of musical structure. This includes structural units such as inserted verses, called "knot" (girah), introductory verses called "quatrain" rubā'ī) or (Hindi) "couplet" (dohā), verse lines (misra') short text phrases called "saying" (bol). It also includes the manipulation of units, such as repetition (dohrānā, takār), amplification (baṛhānā), and ommission (chhornā) -- all these terms being applicable primarily to text units. Of musical structuring devices, performers clearly conceptualize registrality (see above), whereas for the melodic connection of units by the use of alternative endings or directional movement they have only a general term: "to make the connection, to harmonize parts" (mel karnā).

Having, completed the process of identifying the distinctive features of Qawwali music by means of their functional association, it now remains to incorporate these features into the structural framework of Qawwali music established above. This means inserting each feature at the appropriate level within the parameter it pertains to, along with the functional constraint that generates the features, for the way the constraint operates is the key to the feature itself.

In terms of the musical grammar, this adds within each musical parameter certain specific features which are subject to some specific functional constraint. Some of these constraints are operative at the fundamental level of musical structure, i.e. the feature, once present in the musical idiom, is not modified in response to a constraint and therefore the constraint is not required in the grammar once it has served to explain the initial presence of the feature per se. However, where functional constraints operate at the level of variation in the structure of a musical feature, i.e. to vary the feature itself, such variation cannot be accounted for unless the constraint is included in the grammar. This applies to Qawwali to all features of duration, structure and pitch. The constraints for nearly all of these pertain to textual structure. Thus the Qawwali grammar would simply need to include, as a further structural feature, the relevant variables of text structure--basically consisting of poetic meter and verse form--on which variation within each musical feature depends.

In accordance with these requirements, the distinctive features of

Qawwali may be fitted into the analysis of Qawwali musical structure, along with the relevant non-musical features that constrain them, by incorporating them into the four parameters as outlined in Tables 2-5 above.

C Qawwali Song Model

The analysis of Qawwali music is now complete in terms of a systematic inventory of units and rules, i.e. a grammar that can account for Qawwali musical structure. However, to render this grammar operational, i.e. potentially capable of generating Qawwali music, it must also provide the reader with a blueprint for constructing what constitutes the Qawwali unit of performance, i.e. a single song. For Qawwali music such a blueprint exists only in the abstract, since in performance Qawwali song is by definition structured to serve audience needs, as manifested musically in its features of structural flexibility. However, there nevertheless exists what may best be termed a "roadmap" (to borrow a popular musician's term) for the formal structure of a Qawwali song, based simply on the sequential structure of the song text. It is therefore possible to map out, as an abstraction, a minimal sequence of a Qawwali song by showing the music in its structural relationship with the text, listing all possible units along with all possible rules of combination. The entire sequence and its variable structuring are described below and schematized in Tables 7-11, while performers' conceptions utilized for this schematization are summarized on Appendix 7-11.

TABLE 7: STANDARD MODEL: QAWWALI SONG

Text	Units	Music
	Level I: Item of performance	
POEM - sequence of verses differing in content, identical in form, with common end rhyme throughout.		MUSICAL SETTING - sequence of identical tunes.
	Level II: Largest repeat unit	
VERSE - statement of one complete content unit, including "statement" and "answer". - consistent poetic meter. - fixed verse structure is sequence of 2-6 lines (rhyming and non-rhyming). - most prevalent form is couplet.		TUNE - complete statement of musical setting of motivic melody within total framework. - consistent musical meter. - standard tune structure is sequence 2-5 sections (differing in register). - most prevalent form is binary adaptation of three-part frame.
	Level III: Standard repeat unit	
LINE - distinguished by presence/absence of rhyme. a - rhyming line (normally) represents concluding "answer", except for opening line of poem which is rhyming, yet represents opening statement (i. e. precedes conclusion). b - non-rhyming line (normally) represents initial or intermittent statement (i. e. precedes conclusion). c - secondary rhyming line, in some verse forms. - in standard format a follows b, except for opening verse, as in couplet form aa/ba/ba/etc.		SECTION - distinguished by low/high register and tonal centre. A - low-register section with tonic reference, represents "burden" of tune as well as its conclusion. B - high-register section with fifth or upper tonic reference, represents intermittent portion of tune. A^e/B^e - extensions of low-high register section. - in standard format A introduces song and then follows B, as in prototype form ABA/BA/BA, etc.
	Level IV: Smallest repeat unit	
PHRASE (part of line) - meaningful content unit from half line to single word. a1/a2 - first/second half of line. ai/am/af - word phrase/word in initial/medial/final position of line.		PHRASE/MOTIVE (part of section) - isolable musical unit, from half section to single motive. A1/A2 - first/second half of section. Ai/Am/Af - motive in initial/medial/final position of section.

TABLE 8: STANDARD MODEL QAWWALI SONG
Sequencing Rules

Text	Music
Principles	
- complementarity of b and a lines (i.e. b completed by a), on basis of content compatibility.	- complementarity between B and A sections (i.e. B completed by A) on basis of registral contrast.
- repeatability of all meaningful text units.	- repeatability of all corresponding musical units.

*integration of repeatable song units into alternative sequences by means of musical principle of

↳ - directional melodic adjustment (based on registral connotation)

↓ - downward movement, suggests low register, i.e. conclusion and advancement to next unit according to standard format.

↑ - upward movement, suggests high register, i.e. recurrence or repeat of unit already stated.

alternate integrative device:

Text	Music
^{w}- word call (saint, appelation), signals alert, suggesting recurrence or repeat.	- raised pitch anticipates high register, i.e. recurrence or repeat.

Musical Application

Directional Melodic Adjustment

1) Principal Rule: Ending adjusted melodically (to connect with next unit)

- B standard ending, no adjustment - signals A, hence sequence: B A
- B↑ upward adjustment of ending - signals B, hence sequence: B↑ B

2) Modified Principal Rule: Delayed directional adjustment

- B(↑) upward adjustment delayed - connects with B, hence sequence: B ↑B

3) Secondary Rule: Word call to raised pitch

- B^{W} word call along with raised pitch-signals B, hence sequence: Bw B

4) Modified Secondary Rule: Delayed word call to raised pitch

- $B^{(W)}$ word call along with raised pitch delayed-signals B; hence sequence: B wB

TABLE 9: STANDARD MODEL: ADJUNCT ITEMS
Units

	Text	Music
Level I: Largest repeat unit	INSERT/ INTRODUCTION	RECITATIVE
	- statement component in context and consistent in rhyme scheme consisting of 1 to 4 verses (see definition above).	- complete statement of musical setting of recitative oriented to tonal centres in thin tonal framework.
	- consistent poetic meter.	- consistent but metrically free devotional arrangement, no musical meter (though may play softly).
	- fixed verse structure and rhyme scheme, 2-8 lines.	- loosely structured recitative, 2-4 sections.
	- most prevalent form is single or double couplet.	- most prevalent form is lively with extensions.
Level II: Standard repeat unit	LINE	SECTION
	- distinguished by initial/intermittent/final position rather than presence/absence of rhyme.	- distinguished by stationary/directional pitch movement.
	i - initial/intermittent line.	I - stationary section oriented to one to three intermediate tonal centres.
	f - final line, connecting adjunct unit to song proper.	F - final section, descending from high register.
	p - penultimate line.	P- corresponding section establishes high register (optional only in units four or more lines long)

TABLE 10: STANDARD MODEL: ADJUNCT ITEMS
Sequencing Rules

Principles

Text	Music
- repeatability of text units, (except for final line).	- repeatability of corresponding musical units (final section excepted). - variability of repeatable actions, as to tonal orientation (in absence of registral contrast.
- complementarity of adjunct unit and song proper (i.e. insert/introduction completed by subsequent song text unit) on basis of content compatibility.	- complementarity of recitative and song tune (i.e. final recitative section completed by subsequent song tune section) by means of registral contrast.

*integration of adjunct unit with song by means of musical principle of

↳ - directional melodic movement (based on registral connotation)
- downward movement suggests low register, i.e. conclusion and advancement to next unit, i.e. song

Musical Application

Directional Melodic Movement

1) Principal Rule: Directional melodic movement from high register
   - F - final section contains downward movement from register higher than preceding section.
     - signals conclusion, hence sequence F (recitative) A or B (song tune).

2) Modified Principle Rule: Directional melodic movement from pre-established high register
   - P - penultimate section establishes higher register than preceding sections.
   - F - final section contains downward movement from high register.
     - signals conclusion as above.

TABLE 11: STANDARD MODEL: PRELUDE

Text	Music
(ZIKR)	MUSICAL SETTING
(- implied only: "Allāhū" formula.)	- durational pattern of tune anapaestic.
	- musical meter binary.
	- melodic frame with sequential patterning within variable tonal framework.
	- initial rise and final descent.
	- gradual speed increase and final slowdown (optional).

APPENDIX 11: QAWWALI SONG UNITS AND SEQUENCING PRINCIPLES
According to Delhi Qawwals

Component	Sequencing Principle
naghmā ('melody') = instrumental prelude, usually with Zikr rhythm of Allāhū	bajānā ('to play')
- kaharvā (4/8) as ṭhekā (meter)	ṭhāp se lagānā (present it with open hand strokes)
Farsi-Urdu: ruba'i ('quatrain') = introductory verse - also dohā (Hindi) - ṭhekā (meter)/rhythm absent - dhun ('tune') absent, only zarā sā sur meṅ ('more or less within pitch')	paṛhnā ('to recite') kholnā ('to open') = to announce the song proper
chīz ('item') = item of performance, song proper - also commonly ghazal (Farsi-Urdu: Poem of couplets)= see ch. on texts - also rarely thumrī (Hindi:light-classical song)= see Appendix I) - tarz/dhun/ṭhāṭ (tune setting) present - ṭhekā (meter) present	paṛhnā ('to recite') sunānā ('to perform') make heard
Farsi-Urdu: she'r ('couplet') - also: band ('verse',over 2 lines long)	kahnā ('to say') paṛhnā ('to recite')
misra' ('line') - ūlā, pahlā ('first') = non-rhyming line	kahnā ('to say') bolnā ('to speak')
- sānī, dūsrā ('second') = rhyming line	kholnā ('to open') = to "set up" the 2nd lind
- also: mukhṛā ('face') or bol ('statement') = refrain line	kholnā ('to open') = to "set up" the refrain
bol ('statement') = phrase within line	kahnā ('to say')

The Song, Unit of Performance (cf. ex. 1-7)

1. A Qawwali song comprises of text unit--a poem--, and a musical unit--a tune. The poem consists of a number of verses, identical in structure, while the tune is a musical setting repeated to the words of each verse. Qawwali is thus a strophic song.

2. The largest repeatable unit of a song is the verse set to one statement of the tune. The verse comprises from two to six verse lines--most often two, as in the ghazal (see below p.110 and Table 13)--and is governed by a consistent rhyme scheme based on complementarity between non-rhyming lines with initial or intermediary statements and rhyming or refrain lines with concluding statements. A consistent poetic meter is based on a variety of long-short arrangements repeated with each verse line. The tune is a melodic settting constituted motivically within a fixed tonal framework. Its formal structure is adapted to the verse structure and consists of at least two registrally contrasting sections that correspond with the non-rhyming and rhyming lines of the text. Its durational arrangement is derived from the poetic meter and is set within a musical meter articulated on the drum throughout the song.

3. At the next level of structure the verse is divided into repeatable text lines set to tune sections. Rhyming lines are set to the principal tune section (asthāyī) which is characterized by a low pitch register and orientation to the lower tonic. Non-rhyming lines are sung to the contrasting tune section (antarā) which is characterized by a high pitch register and orientation to the fifth or upper tonic, and which melodically requires to be completed by the principal section. Where a

rhyming line is in an initial rather than a concluding position within the verse, as is the case with every opening line of a poem, it is set first to an asthāyī, then to an antarā tune, indicating the impending conclusion that is to follow in the form of another asthāyī. Verses with more than two lines may contain additional tune sections, extensions of the asthāyī and particularly of the antarā tune.

4. Within each verse line, any meaningful text phrase can be isolated and repeated, from a half line down to a single word. Musically, this implies the isolation and repetition of any part or motive within a tune section.

Adjunct Units (cf. ex. 8-11)

1. Two performance units may be added to the song. One is an introduction (ruba'i) preceding the song to indicate the type of poem that is to follow (ex. 9). The other is an insert (girah) introduced during the course of a song to amplify the meaning of a verse line (ex. 10, 11). Both are verse units two or more lines long and musically rendered as "recitatives" (in an declamatory style without motivic patterning or reference to a musical meter, but following the principle registral contrast between non-rhyming and rhyming lines).

2. Finally, an instrumental prelude (naghmā), played solo on the harmonium, may preface the sung performance (ex. 8). A loosely structured tune follows a registral progression from low to high, and back to low. A reurring rhythmic pattern suggesting zikr is strongly reinforced by the drummed musical meter.

Sequencing of Units

1. The sequence of performance implied in the text structure goes from verse to verse, within each verse from line to line, and within each line from beginning to end. However, since all meaningful units are repeatable, the performer may repeat either a smaller or a larger unit at will: a word, the half line, the entire line, the whole verse. This flexibility is acommodated musically through a method of musical sequencing based on traditional pitch movement using directional melodic movement "allomorphically" as indicator of what is to follow. All musical units that can be repeated or followed by more than one subsequent unit are subject to this principle. In its most prevalent form the end of one unit is melodically adjusted to what is to follow. In its standard version the ending suggests continuation on to the musical unit set to the text portion next in sequence. If the unit is to be repeated, the ending is melodically adjusted to lead back to the beginning of the same unit. The adjustment follows the criterion that ascending pitch movement signals a high pitch and thus an intermediate statement or the continuation of a message, whereas descending pitch movement signals a low pitch and thus the conclusion of the statement and continuation to new material.

2. The entire directional adjustment may also be delayed so as to govern the beginning of the following unit.

3. Finally, a non-musical method of signalling a text phrase out of sequence consists of prefacing it with a short appellation of a saint's name, usually to a raised pitch also anticipating repetition.

4. The standard application of these sequencing rules is based on

the assumption that a message must be heard at least twice in order to be internalized, and it needs to be presented in segments corresponding in duration to one message-phrase. The text unit that comes closest to such a segment is the verse line, so that in Qawwali singing the standard unit of repetition is the line set to one tune section. Since verse lines vary widely in length, however, this principle may be modified in two ways. In case of a very short verse line two complementary lines are sung in succession and then repeated, and single line repeats may follow once the complete message has been conveyed. A very long verse line, conversely, is usually divisible in half by a caesura, and each half line is repeated separately at first, so that each portion of the message is clearly conveyed before the entire line is repeated.

5. The same principle of minimal repetition is applied to smaller units of performance.

6. For adjunct units the sequencing rules are modified somewhat to accommodate their special place within the song structure. Both introductory verses and inserts are single statements added to the principal song message; accordingly they are not repeated beyond the need to make them comprehensible. For this purpose the only repeat unit is the entire verse line, regardless of length. However, an exception occurs with the very least line of the adjunct unit. This line represents not so much the conclusion of the added message than the lead-back into the main portion of the song; accordingly it is sung only once, always to a descending tune section which leads directly into the succeeding line of the song proper (cf. ex. 9 and 10, and Performance 1:429).

7. Entire songs become subject to the same rules in a limited way. Thus when one song is meant to lead directly to the next one, the final *asthāyī* line may have its ending adjusted to the pitch level starting the new song. Two devices may serve to indicate the conclusion of a song; one is a melodic cadence leading to the lower tonic at the end of the final *asthāyī* line, the other is a restatement of the *asthāyī* at a greatly reduced tempo.

D Evaluation

The presentation of this model of Qawwali music in the abstract represents the farthest extent to which the musicological approach can go to generated a Qawwali song. Thus the presentation of this model constitutes a fitting conclusion to the musical analysis of Qawwali. At the same time, the obvious shortcoming of the model--its inability to generate even one song in the concrete--suggests the need for a different level of inquiry, thus making it a natural starting point for the analysis to come. For this purpose, let us take stock of what has been achieved so far: We have a musical analysis of Qawwali which provides the reader with the musical frame of reference by way of four musical parameters and identifies distinctive features by means of their functional constraints, all put together into a grammar that can account for the structure of Qawwali music by way of units and rules imposed on a model for sequencing the music which is broadly based on the textual structure.

But what motivates the application of these rules and thus the choice of musical units, i.e. the actual programming of Qawwali music, is not contained in this grammar. True, there are certain rules of structure that govern relationships between certain musical elements--e.g. different endings must be followed by different sections--, or even between musical and non-musical elements--e.g. musical meter must represent poetic meter. But such rules only account for one structural element constraining another. This leaves unmotivated those musical options or choices which are not governed by a structural constraint. In Qawwali music in particular, a repertoire of such musical choices is central to the musical idiom. Collectively designated "flexibility of structure" along with "manipulability of units" it is assigned special significance as a distinctive feature and tied explicitly to the functional constraint of satisfying changing spiritual needs of the audience. It is in dealing with this feature that the present musical grammar reaches its limits, for it can list the choices by which Qawwali musical structure is rendered flexible and its units manipulable. But it canot provide a programme for using those choices. The fact is, that flexibility is no more than a set of options, and manipulability no more than the musical mechanics to generate flexibility. How to use this flexibility is not a matter of structure at all, but of process: the process of performance.

There is no better evidence for reinforcing this major point than to refer the reader to an actual Qawwali song performance in transcription. Transcriptions 1 and 2 represent two songs (ex. 3 and 5) transcribed from two recorded Qawwali performances (Performance 1 and 2). Transcription 1 of Torī Sūrat (ex. 3, Performance 1, Song 4) presents the beginning part of the opening line (see Performance 1: 418-432 for complete opening line). Transcription 2 of Kachh jagmag presents the first two statements of the second verse (of a total of five statements, see Performance 2: 451-457). Both transcriptions make up the musical characteristics outlined so far; they also exemplify the musical use of flexible structuring outlined in the Qawwali Song Model above. The result is an irregularly patterned musical sequence, obviously the result of structuring choices lacking any purely musical rationale.

It is to performance the analysis must now turn in order to pursue what has been left out of the analysis so far: how Qawwali music is programmed or put together into an actual musical sequence as a result of a series of choices (flexibility of structure) executed through the use of appropriate musical structuring (manipulability of units). In considering performance, the analysis must shift its focus first and foremost on the dynamic behind this programming process or, in plain language, find out what makes the music happen. In Qawwali, there is no doubt what that dynamic consists of, since the flexible structuring process is very explicitly linked to the important functional constraint of satisfying changing audience needs, i.e. the context of performance. On the basis of this clue--arrived at from indigenous conceptualization and powerfully reinforced in observed behavior--,what needs to be investigated and ultimately incorporated into the analysis is the performance context of Qawwali, whatever it may consist of. For, if serving audience needs is a primary function of Qawwali music, it is obvious that the actual process of programming a Qawwali song is tied in exclusively with the performance process and can take place only with reference to an audience. Thus a complete analysis of Qawwali music requires dealing with the music in its performance context, for it is only there that the musical application of the contextual constraints of "satisfying changing audience needs" can actually take place. Analysing the process of structuring Qawwali music, then, requires an understanding of the entire interaction between the Qawwali performer and his audience. The remainder of this study will be devoted to just this aim. This will require a major excursus away from the music to the context within which this music operates. First and foremost there is the immediate context of performance: the Qawwali assembly which constitutes the setting for the expression of listeners' needs as well as their musical manifestation--the music sounded in response to those needs. At one level removed, the ideological background provides the larger communicative framework for the entire process which is also informed by the socio-economic background of the participants.

Having once outlined the structure of the context in which Qawwali music making happens, the stage will be set for the actual analysis of the performance process as an interaction between context and music. This will move the focus on to the musician, for it is he who ultimately brings the two together, by processing context--through his perception of it--and expressing that context in music--by performing it. Thus the performance process is properly analysed from his vantage point. This leads to the isolation of key referents which serve the performer to link the context to the music. Accordingly, it is by introducing these referents into the musical grammar that it may be rendered context-sensitive and thus capable of accounting for--or even generating--an actual Qawwali performance. Starting from the musical structure as a take-off point, then, this analysis will proceed to focus on musical process--the process of performance.

SECTION II: THE PERFORMANCE CONTEXT

CHAPTER 4

ANALYTICAL VANTAGE POINT

The following section is devoted to a consideration of the context dimension of Qawwali music. While this constitutes a major excursus away from the music, it is being undertaken from a perspective directly consistent with the larger goal of analysing music as a process taking place in performance. The assumption here is that, analytically speaking, process is the operationalization of structure, and therefore the structure needs to be known before the process can be understood. This applies no less to the music itself than it does to the performance context that motivates the programming of the music. Thus, analysing the musical structure is a necessary prerequisite to investigating how that structure is operationalized in performance--indeed, such an analysis is already completed. Equally, to analyse the contextual dynamic that motivates this process requires that the structure of that context be understood first. It is the purpose of this section to lay the foundation for such an understanding.

In the immediate sense, the context for programming Qawwali music is the occasion of its performance. Accordingly, a detailed consideration of the structure of the Qawwali assembly constitutes the core of this section. In accord with its manifestly spiritual function the Qawwali occasion is analysed as a religious ritual with norms of setting and procedure which are informed by a set of relevant concepts. These norms constitute the structure of the Qawwali occasion, inasmuch as they are shared by the participants who actualize that structure according to their particular knowledge and motivation, but always in terms of those common ritual norms.

The structural dimension of Qawwali, however, also encompasses components which are derived from socio-economic norms of Indo-Muslim society at large. They figure in conjunction with the explicit religious norms, but rather at an implicit level; hence they are discussed separately.

An understanding of the structure of the Qawwali occasion also presupposes an awareness of the background dimensions which, for all Qawwali participants, underlies the Qawwali tradition: the conceptual framework and poetic idiom of Sufism which provide the functional and operational basis for the tradition, and the socio-economic reality of Muslim society in India which not only informs the particular shape of the Qawwali tradition but also accounts for the social and economic dimensions operating at the latent level.

Because the Qawwali is a religious ritual, the ideological framework of Sufism is of primary importance in defining the norms for the way a Qawwali occasion is structured. Accordingly, Sufi ideology and its communicative concomitant, the poetic idiom of Sufism which furnishes Qawwali texts, will therefore be discussed first and in enough detail to illuminate the following analysis of the ritual itself, i.e. the Qawwali occasion. This is however not meant to invest religious ideology with ontological prirority. On the contrary; Sufi ideology, while transcending socio-economic realities in theory, is at the same time linked with these realities in its institutional manifestations. Indeed, at that level it may even be seen as a metaphor for those socio-economic realities. This becomes clear when Sufism and its institutions are considered in the larger context of Indo-Muslim society. Such a perspective, derived from the political economy tradition of anthropology and relating ideology to economic and socio-political reality, directly informs the discussion of Sufism in its socio-economic context while in an indirect way it underlies the approach to the entire background context as a potential source of motivation for the actors in the Qawwali performance process.

While not all Sufis or performers are cognizant of the actual features of these background dimensions, all are aware that their knowledge is oriented around this frame of reference. I consider it essential, therefore, to preface the discussion of the Qawwali occasion itself with an outline of the relevant background dimensions, so that the reader can place the specifics of the performance context into that larger frame of reference--a proccedure which runs basically parallel to the one employed in the music analysis. This background chapter will focus first of all on the Sufi ideology which provides the raison-d'être and functional basis for the entire Qawwali tradition. A second, related background dimension is that of the expressive medium of communicating mystical throught and experience in Sufism. Complementing these ideational dimensions is the following discussion on the socio-economic realities underlying Sufism and Sufi ritual practise, including Qawwali. Finally, and still within this perspective, the performer is brought into special focus, in anticipation of his central role in the performance process of Qawwali.

From the contextual background the discussion moves on to the actual context of Qawwali music, the Qawwali occasion of performance. In order to acquaint the reader with the Qawwali assembly as an ethnographic concept, an overview outlining its general features will introduce the detailed discussion of its structure. The entire discussion on context, then, is built in two stages: the first stage establishes the contextual background, the second and main stage introduces and then analyses the actual context of Qawwali music in terms of its structure.

The Qawwali occasion per se is analyzed using an approach derived from ethnoscience and situational analysis and makes reference to both the cognitive and behavioral levels of structure; one is represented by the conceptual frame of reference of the Qawwali assembly, the other by the two complementary domains of the setting and procedure of the assembly. The result of this analysis is presented as an ethnographic abstraction containing concepts and features of setting and structure in their relevant frame of reference--a model or blueprint for the Qawwali occasion of performance, quite analogous to the abstract model for a Qawwali song (see Ch. 3:78, Tables 7-10). All that will be required next is to turn that blueprint into action. For this we have to turn to the actor, and since the complete action of a Qawwali assembly includes the music, the actor can be none but the musician. That, however, will constitute the crucial turning point of this analysis, the point of turning structure into process.

CHAPTER 5

BACKGROUND DIMENSIONS

The aim of this chapter is to present in outline form the dimensions of the socio-cultural framework underlying Qawwali which are relevant to an understanding of its structure and process. These dimensions comprise, on one hand, systems of thought and symbol which all participants know to be the foundations of the Qawwali tradition: These are the ideology of Sufism and the place of Qawwali within it, and the symbolic idiom of Sufi poetry which serves mystical expression in Qawwali. Both of these are presented here from the perspective of Indian Sufism--rather than that of standard classical Sufism and literary history respectively--, as set forth by leading participants in Qawwali and as understood by devotees as well as Qawwali performers. On the other hand, there is the background dimension of social reality: At the level of general relevance it consists of the socio-historical setting of Sufism in India which has shaped Qawwali as a religious and cultural institution; at the level of specific relevance to the musical domain of Qawwali, it includes the socio-economic position of the Qawwali performer, including his social and professional identity.

A Sufi Ideology: The Rationale and Function of Qawwali

This outline sketch of Sufi ideology aims at presenting what Indian Sufis consider the salient features of Sufism--whether they are part of classical Sufi doctrine or the result of local Indian tradition--and then to identify the Qawwali ritual in terms of this ideological frame of reference. In its organization this outline of Indian Sufism also means to convey the importance of an historical dynamic as a basic structuring principle of this ideology. The primary sources for this expose are Sufi informants and, secondarily, the literature that best formalizes their ideological frame of reference.

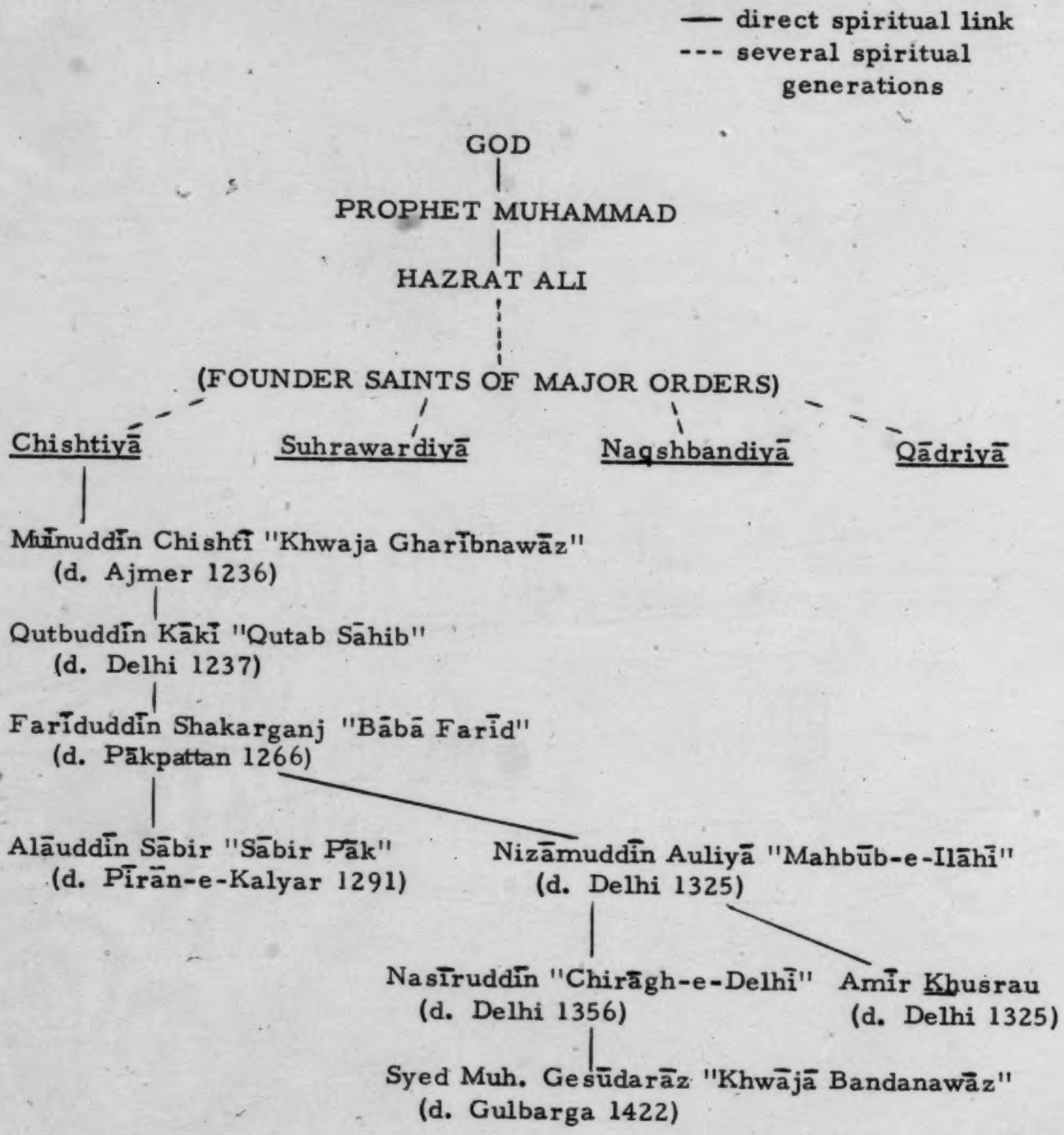
Indian Sufism is rooted in the classical tradition of Islamic mysticism as it developed in the Arab and Persian culture area between the ninth and eleventh centuries, and was codified in the writings of the major Sufi masters by the twelfth century (Nicholson 1962, Arberry 1950: Chs. 1-7, Rizvi 1978: Ch. 1, Milson 1975: Introduction). Sufism was propagated through the great Sufi orders which were founded during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Arberry 1950: Ch. 7, Trimingham 1971: Chs. 1 and 2) and included the establishment of Sufism in India (Rizvi 1978: Chs. 1-3, Schimmel 1975: Chs. 1 and 2).

The salient ingredients of the Islamic mystical tradition thus established are: a common theory of the mystical way (tarīqa), and elaborate verbal code to elucidate that theory, a basic list of eminent mystics who are recognized as the founders and authoritative masters of Sufism, and a large stock of hagiographic material (Milson 1975: Ch. 5). A further essential aspect of classical Sufism is the aesthetic element, for rather than consisting of a common body or doctrine, "the Sufi movement ... formed a complex association of imaginative and emotional attitudes" (Gibb 1962:211) which found expression in the rich poetic traditions inspired by Sufism throughout the Islamic realm.

Sufi ideology is a response to orthodox Islam, at the same time emanating from its very tenets. Thus, while affirming the unity of God (*tauhīd*) and the absolute distinction between Creator and created, Sufism also assumes an inner kinship between God and man and strives to bridge the gulf between them through the dynamic force of love (*muhabbat*). Mystical love, the central concept of Sufism, has two complementary dimensions essential to the sphere of Sufi thought and experience. One comprises man's deliberate conscious striving toward God by following the Way (*tarīqa*) under the direction of a spiritual guide to achieve "stages" or "situations" (*maqāmāt*, pl. of *maqām*) of nearness to God. The other dimension comprises ecstatic intuitive fulfilment through God's illumination of man, His gift of "states" (*ahwāl*, pl. of *hāl*) of nearness, leading ultimately to union (*wisāl*) with God. "The *maqām* is a stage of spiritual attainment which is the result of the mystic's personal effort and endeavour, whereas the *hāl* is a spiritual mood depending not upon the mystic but upon God." (Arberry 1950:75).

Clearly distinct from each other, both dimensions are conceptually integrated into the scheme of the Sufi *silsila*-s, the spiritual "chains" of those who followed the path and received illumination from God, which in turn empowered them to be guides (*sheikh*, *pīr*) to other seekers or disciples (*murīd*). Discipleship (*bay'at*) links the devotee to this geneology of spiritual power through his *pīr* to the great saints of the past, to Hazrat Ali--the Prophet's son-in-law and disciple--, then to Prophet Muhammad himself and ultimately to God (see Table 12). It is this principle of spiritual linkage (*ta'alluq*) and transmission which underlies the structuring of Sufism through the establishment of the great mystical orders and their extensions throughout the Islamic region,

TABLE 12: HIERARCHY OF SUFISM
(with reference to India and Chrishti silsila)


— direct spiritual link
--- several spiritual generations
GOD
PROPHET MUHAMMAD
HAZRAT ALI
(FOUNDER SAINTS OF MAJOR ORDERS)
Chishtiyā
Suhrawardiyā
Naqshbandiyā
Qādriyā
Muīnuddīn Chishtī "Khwaja Gharībnawāz" (d. Ajmer 1236)
Qutbuddīn Kākī "Qutab Sāhib" (d. Delhi 1237)
Farīduddīn Shakarganj "Bābā Farīd" (d. Pākpattan 1266)
Alāuddīn Sābir "Sābir Pāk" (d. Pīrān-e-Kalyar 1291)
Nizāmuddīn Auliyā "Mahbūb-e-Ilāhī" (d. Delhi 1325)
Nasīruddīn "Chirāgh-e-Delhī" (d. Delhi 1356)
Amīr Khusrau (d. Delhi 1325)
Syed Muh. Gesūdarāz "Khwājā Bandanawāz" (d. Gulbarga 1422)

wherever Sufism took root.

At the core of this structure is the teaching relationship of spiritual guide to disciple. Indeed, the attachment and submission to a sheikh or pīr is considered an essential prerequisite to attain the goals of mysticism, through his guidance along the "stations" of the "path" or Way, and also to receive the benefice emanating from one who has acchieved spiritual superiority. Indian Sufism in particular, conceptualizes divine power and man's relationship to it in hierarchical terms: There are degrees of nearness to that power which are reckoned according to the principle of spiritual descent from the great Sufi masters or saints (auliyā, pl. of walī) of the past, and manifested in a Sufi's spiritual geneolology, leading through his founder-saint to Ali, the Prophet and thus to God. (see Table 12).

Another important aspect of the discipleship principle is the resulting relationship of spiritual "brotherhood" which links the disciples of one spiritual guide, as encapsulated in the expression pīrbhāyī or "brother-in-pīr"--quite analogous in meaning to "brother-in-Christ." Indeed, this bond is considered fundamental to the concept of the Sufi community.

Later Sufism has also come to emphasize nearness to these saints and their power in spatial terms, at the abode of their final union with God, i.e. their tomb. Accordingly, Sufism in India (see e.g. Eaton, 1978) as elsewhere (see e.g. Geertz 1968, Crapanzano 1973) has in recent centuries shifted its focus of orientation to saintly shrines, their founder-saints and spiritual power. In this ta'ifa phase of Sufism (Trimingham 1971: Ch. 3), the devotional veneration of saints as spiritual intermediaries and mediators of divine benefice (barkat) becomes an integral and central part of Sufi practice, in addition to personal discipleship and lineage links.

The core of Sufism is, however, experiential, for, in the words of the great Sufi teacher al Ghazali, "what is most essential to Sufism cannot be learned, but can only be reached by immediate experience and ecstasy and inward transformation" (quoted in Nicholson 1914:29). Mystical love, to become the dynamic force of both maqām and hāl, must be cultivated spiritually and aroused emotionally. This is achieved through ritual or devotional practice, in particular the reciting or "recollection" of God's name (zikr), and the listening to spiritual music (sama'). Zikr, "the constant recollection of God" (Schimmel 1975:84), consists of the repetition--silent or voiced--of divine names or religious formulae. Its partticular form and emphasis is part of the teaching tradition of the various Sufi orders and it is often practiced collectively in assemblies led by a spiritual leader (halqa-e-zikr, see e.g. Haas 1917).

While zikr is sanctioned by koranic order (e.g. Sura 33:40 and 13:28), sama' has always remained a theologically controversial practice, because the mainstream of Islamic theological opinion has prohibited music as dangerous and unlawful, although no direct prohibition of music is contained in the Koran (Roychaudhry 1957: Ch. 2, see also Farmer 1965, Nadvi 1959, Phulvarvi 1968 on this issue). On the other hand, Islamic tradition recognizes and cultivates the chanting or cantillation of religious texts, principally the Koran itself. Inspite of its musical features, particularly its pitch organization, such chanting is conceived of as non-music and termed "recitation" or "reading" in Arabic as well as in other Muslim languages.

In religious cantillation--as in all recitation (including chanted poetry, cf. Qureshi 1969)--musical features are subordinated to the religious text and function and thereby legitimized. Singing, on the other hand, is characterized by the presence of independent musical features which exist for their own sake, most of all the sound of musical instruments. Indeed, musical instruments are considered the hallmark of secular music--in Urdu, as in Hindi, the English term "music" is in fact often used to denote "instrumental accompaniment."

It is against this dual background conception of music and recitation that the practice of sama'--listening to mystical music--takes on a controversial character, for the traditional music for sama' has normally included the use of instruments, particularly of percussion, to reinforce the element of zikr repetition which is considered inherent in it. Within the Sufi conceptual framework sama' is therefore not accepted universally. Orders with a more orthodox orientation prohibit its use altogether or compromise by permitting mystical songs unaccompanied by instruments. However, the mainstream of Sufi tradition accords importance to sama' as the context for a Sufi's attaining wajd, the ecstasy of what means literally "finding" God. Sama', in fact, is "no doubt the most widely known expression of mystical life in Islam" (Schimmel 1975:179).

The concept of sama' in Sufism comprises first and foremost that which is heard, the "divine message which stirs the heart to seek God, (Hujwiri 1970:404). That message is normally assumed to consist of a poetic text which is set to music, i.e. a mystical song. Indeed, Sufism considers poetry to be the principal vehicle for the expression of mystical thought and feeling; thus its musical rendering becomes the means for turning this expression into a spiritual and emotional experience for the Sufi listener. Utlimately, then, the *sama'* concept is focussed on the listener--in accord with its literal meaning ("listening" or "audition")--and on his spiritual capacity for receiving what he hears, including all the implications of an ecstatic response. This means that, even where Sufism permits music for *sama'*, it invariably places constraints on the listening process. Sufism achieves this primarily by placing the entire practice of *sama'* firmly within the hierarchical structure of spiritual authority (e.g. Hujwiri 1970: Ch. 25). Accordingly, the prototype setting for *sama'* is an assembly of mystics under the guidance of a spiritual master.

Conspiciously absent from the *sama'* conception is the maker of that which is listened to--the performer. Yet it is implied that, starting from early Sufi treatises (e.g. the 11th C. Ibn-e-Arabi and Al Hujwiri) singers with a special competence served mystical assemblies (Hujwiri 1970:417). The main point is that a conceptual separation exists between the Sufi listener of the *sama'* message and the singer who is causing the message to be sounded. In Indian Sufism, the one is termed Sufi or, collectively, *mashāikh* (pl. of *sheikh*), the other Qawwal, meaning literally "the one who says," or "the singer of a verbal message"--the message being Qawwali (derived from *qaul* i.e. "saying" in Arabic). Qawwali is *sama'* set in practice: mystical poetry is set to music and enhanced by a powerful rhythm as well as by repetition so as to suggest zikr. Instrumental accompaniment reinforcing both rhythm and melody are part of the conception, rendered acceptable by their context and function despite their proscription in orthodox Islam.

There is, in Indian Sufism, yet another factor contributing to the importance accorded to the sama' concept in the major spiritual lineages: the ubuquitous presence of religious music in Hinduism. Since music is an integral element in the conception and practice of Hinduism, especially its devotional movement, Indian Sufis recognize that in a Hindu environment the spread of Islamic mysticism justified giving special emphasis to sama'. While there may be some element of apology in this justification, the general Sufi interpretation--of course excepting the silsila-s that prohibit music--is to accord special significance to music as a means to give a more universal reach to Islam.

B Sufi Poetry: The Texts of Qawwali

Sufi poetry, the source of Qawwali texts, constitutes a principal vehicle for expressing and communicating mystical thought and experience. It is therefore appropriate to outline the features of this poetic idiom in relation to the ideological dimension of Sufism. This applies particularly to all aspects of poetic content, but also to language. However, because of the structural relationship between Qawwali texts and Qawwali music (see Ch. 3B above), it is also necessary for this discussion to cover aspects of poetic form and meter. Being more technical in nature, their principal features are summarized in two tables (Tables 13 and 14), using standard Western terminology and symbols. Otherwise, this section too is entirely based on information gathered from both Sufis and Qawwali performers.

The contentious element in the concept of _sama'_ or Qawwali is musical sound per se; but in fact the music of _sama'_ is never conceived of apart from the Sufi poetry that constitutes the song texts of Qawwali. Indeed, Qawwali is the musical performance of texts. These texts comprise a vast range of poetic expression, generated from the Persian mystical poetry of classical Sufism. Ever since its beginnings, and particularly since its expansion into the Persian culture area, Sufism has inspired poetic expression of both inspirational and didactic character. It became the vehicle for conveying mystical experience while at the same time representing the legacy of the great Sufi saints and teachers. Most of all, classical Persian poetry provided an unlimited range of aesthetic expression to mystical love through its idiom of stylized imagery centering on human love, thus giving a particularly metaphoric quality to the manifestation of spiritual passion (Schimmel 1975:187 ff).

This poetic idiom of classical Sufism has remained alive in the regions of Persian Sufi influence, through its use by Sufis in teaching and self-expression, but most of all through performance in the _sama'_ assembly. In addition, these regions, including India, subsequently acquired repertoires of Sufi poetry composed in local languages.

In India, the poetic repertoire used in Qawwali assemblies includes three languages (though Sufi poetry exists in other local languages as well, see Schimmel 1975:383 ff); they are Farsi, Hindi and Urdu. While related linguistically, all three represent distinct socio-cultural contexts and styles; hence they serve both performers and Sufis as primary categories for the Qawwali repertoire of poetry.

Language

In the Qawwali repertoire, Farsi poetry represents Sufism par excellence, in its idiom of symbol and imagery as well as in its thought content. Because of this spiritual stature of Farsi--and because it was the court and elite language for centuries--Indian poets have composed in it expressly mystical as well as secular poetry until the late 19th century. Today little understood as a language, Farsi still enjoys a high spiritual and cultural prestige and is familiar to Sufis in the form of a standard repertoire by venerated poets, including Persian mystics like Rumi (see ex. 4:338), and above all the greatest Indo-Persian Sufi poet, Amir Khusrau (see ex. 2:327).

Hindi is the second "classical" language of Indian Sufism. Representing early Indianized mysticism, Qawwali poetry in Hindi introduces symbols and imagery derived from Hindu devotional verse in the dialect particular to it, Braj Bhasha. This poetry is characterized by simple and direct expression in a folk-like idiom profound in its associational meaning, yet understood by the untutored devotee. Sufi poets have used Hindi since the 13th century, most famous among them Amir Khusrau (see ex. 3:331), hence in this classical form it is close to Farsi in spiritual prestige. Its repertoire is strongly localized, often being associated with specific shrines or saints. Today there is some ascendancy given to Hindi by some Sufis who wish to broaden the appeal of Sufism beyond the Muslim community.

Qawwali poetry in Urdu, finally, represents the idiom of contemporary Sufi experience, using the current Indo-Muslim language. Based on Farsi models and using a heavily Persianized vocabulary, it incorporates the time-honoured symbolic idiom of classical Sufism, but adds to it the appeal of familiar expression. Because Urdu poetry is no more than two centuries old and has little association with Sufi saints, it has less spiritual presttige than either Farsi or Hindi. Qawwali poetry in Urdu is characterized on one hand by the works of serious contemporary Sufi poets (e.g. ex. 6:346), and on the other by an extensive repertoire of popular-style devotional poems composed especially for Qawwali singing (e.g. ex. 7:352).

Content

The content of Qawwali poetry corresponds to the spiritual requirements of Sufism. Specific content categories are identified by Sufis and Qawwali performers which run across all three languages; nevertheless the language of a poem also has a certain connotational impact upon the content, in line with the language characteristics mentioned above. These content categories are distinguished according to their focus which in a general way corresponds to the dimensions of Sufism outlined above. This does not imply that content categories are mutually exclusive; rather they indicate the primary emphasis or impact of a poem's content and are used in this sense by both Sufis and Qawwals.

1. Focus on Spiritual Links--Figures of the Sufi hierarchy are addressed in praise or devotion, including God in the _hamd_, the Prophet in the _na't_ (ex. 7:354), and Hazrat Ali (ex. 1:322, 6:348), Sufi saints (ex. 3:333, 4:339, 5:342), even living Sheikhs in the _manqabat_.

2. Focus on Spiritual Emotion--States of mystical love are expressed, particularly love per se (*ʿishq*, ex. 4:339, 9:360, 10:366), separation (*firāq*), union (*wisāl*), and includes poems pertaining to ecstatic states (*rindānā*, ex. 2:328). It is in this content category where a wide range of themes serves the expression of spiritual emotion by means of metaphoric association (ex. 2:328, 3:333, 4:339).

3. Focus on Association with a local saint--A variety of associational links are expressed, including devotion to a particular saint, his shrine and reference to its ritual practice. Such poems also include compositions by the saint himself (ex. 10:363, by Nizamuddin Auliya) "or by" devotees (ex. 2:320, 3:331, 4:336, 11:368 are all by Amir Khusrau, disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya). This is the most variable portion of Qawwali texts; its principal language is Hindi, the preferred idiom for addressing unlettered devotees (ex. 3:331 f, ex. 5;341 f).

Poetic Form

Both dimensions of formal organization, verse structure and poetic meter, are strongly dominated by the classical schemes of Persian poetry (ex. 2, 4, 9, 11). Urdu poetry follows Persian models directly (ex. 6, 7) and even Sufi poetry in Hindi shows its influcence (ex. 5). The prototype form in Sufi poetry is the *ghazal* which is found in the overwhelming majority of Qawwali songs (ex. 2, 5, 6, 7, 11).

The poetic form of all Qawwali poetry is strophic. Its structural units are verses organized on the basis of the contrast between rhyming and non-rhyming verse lines. Most rhyme schemes in Qawwali poetry are based on a consistent rhyme syllable which occurs throughout the poem and is often extended by a repeated monorhyme. This arrangement underlies the _ghazal_ form in which thematically self-contained couplets identical in form are linked by such a common rhyme scheme: the first couplet establishes the formal pattern with a rhyming opening line, while in the remaining couplets a non-rhyming first line is complemented by a rhyming concluding line identical in structure throughout the poem (see Table 13).

The _ghazal_ form has been considered "an ideal vehicle" for mystical experience (Schimmel 1975:162): The repetitive monorhyme or _radīf_ is a vehicle for the reiteration of a central word phrase or concept in the manner of the _zikr_ principle (see p.103 above, and cf ex. 2, 4). At the same time this built-in refrain principle so strongly links the verse units together by form that it allows for free associational play on the central theme in each couplet without requiring the structure of a thematic sequence. The only couplets with a distinct structural identity are the first one, the _matla'_, which establishes the theme of the poem and its rhyme scheme, and, in a majority of poems, the last one, the _maqta'_ which usually introduces the _nom de plume_ of the poet (see ex. 2:328).

Various other strophic arrangements are found mainly in Hindi poetry where refrain lines are a more prevalent feature. In the most common form a refrain line alternates with strophes of two or four lines in which a non-rhyming line is followed by one that rhymes with the refrain (ex. 3:333 f). Less common in Qawwali are the extended strophic forms of Farsi and Urdu where each verse of four to six lines contains a different rhyme but is concluded by a constant rhyme as well.

TABLE 13: QAWWALI POETIC FORM
Common Patterns

a) Ghazal Form (Farsi, Urdu, also Hindi)

verse 1 (matla'):	a a	(a = rhyme + monorhyme b = no rhyme)
subsequent verses	b a	
last verse (maqta')	b a } + poet's nom-de-plume	

b) Hindi Form (common version)

refrain line	a	(a = rhyme b = no rhyme)
verse	b a (b a)	

c) Ruba'i Form (Farsi, Urdu)

single verse	a a b a	(a = rhyme b = non-rhyme)

In addition to strophic poems Qawwali poetry also includes short poetic forms of a single strophe, for these are used in performance as introductory verses and inserts into the principal poem. The classical short form of Sufi poetry is the Persian ruba'i or qatā of four lines in which the rhyme scheme (aaba) highlights the dramatic structure of an epigram-like poetic statement (see Table 13 and ex. 9:360). This format is considered so standard that it has lent its name to introductory verses in general; they are called ruba'i, even when the actual verse has a different form. A single couplet or strophe from a longer poem may also serve as an independent verse unit for introduction or insertion (ex. 10:365f). The Hindi equivalent of the introductory couplet is the dohā, a two-line verse with a common rhyme and containing a complete poetic statement (see Table 13). Two or more couplets may also be joined for the purpose of either introduction or insertion, provided they constitute an appropriate unit of content (ex. 11:368 f).

Poetic Meter

Qawwali poetry is rich in diverse metric schemes derived mostly from Persian prosody ('arūz) which in turn originates in Arabic models. This prosodic system is based on the principle of syllabic quantity, hence its basic units are the short and long syllable which are grouped into a number of prosodical "feet" from two to five syllables long. The system recognizes eight primary feet and numerous derivatives represented not by short-long symbols, but by different mnemonic words in Arabic which express their individual composition (for background see Weil 1960, Blochmann 1872, Ruckert 1874). All meters derived from this system are composed of a definite sequence, either of several different feet, or of the same foot repeated (compare ex. 6:348 and 7:354), and a meter remains the same throughout one poem, except for an occasional change in the ruba'i. In length a meter can range from three to eight feet, hence between poems verse lines vary greatly in length (compare ex. 4:339 and 6:348).

Hindi poetic meters are very much simpler, using two basic combinations--dactylic or anapaestic--of a grouping that consists of one long and two short syllables (see Table 14 and ex. 5:343).

Of the wide variety of meters occurring in Qawwali poetry most are organized symmetrically into two, three or four equal parts. Table 14 lists the most frequent metric arrangements along with their syllabic representation and reference to the examples. This is not to imply that Qawwali performers identify poetic meters in this formal way, and among Sufis only those with literary training do so. Yet all those using this poetry are conversant with its scansion; indeed for Qawwals that is a prerequisite for composing and performing correctly.

The range and diversity of Qawwali poetry is so considerable that one can hardly consider it a poetic idiom collectively. Its origins range from great Sufi saints to folk anonymity, and available sources vary from published classics to the memory of old performers. Yet, because of the basically metaphoric quality fo all Sufi poetry, even the simplest folk idiom is invested with profound spiritual meaning, while the classical Sufi poetic idiom is characterized by the two-level oscillation between the obvious sensual and the implied spiritual level of expression (cf. ex. 2 and 4, 3 and 5). It is only in the most recent

TABLE 14: QAWWALI POETIC METER

a) Most Common Persian-Urdu Meters

1) Hazaj II
u - - - |u - - - |u - - - |u - - - (long-short pattern)
mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlun mafā'īlun (mnemonic identification)

2) Raml 3
- u - - |u u - - |u u - - |u u -| (see ex. 2)

3) Muzārī
- - u |- u - u |u - - u |- u -|

4) Mutadārik 2
- u - |- u - |- u - |- u - |(2x)

5) Mutadārik 3
- u - |- u - |- u - |- |(2x)

6) Raml 1
- u - - |- u - - |- u - - |- u -|

7) Kamil
u u - u - |u u - u -| (2x) (see ex. 6)

8) Mutaqārib 1
u - - |u - - |u - - |u - - |

9) Raml 2
- u - - |- u - - |- u -| (see ex. 4 and 11)

10) Mujtass
u - u - |u u - - |u - u - |u u -| (see ex. 7)

b) Most Common Hindi Meters

1) - u u| - $\overset{uu}{-}$| (multiples) (see ex. 3)

2) u¯u -| u¯u -| (multiples) (see ex. 5)

Urdu poetry composedd to address large untutored audiences that the traditional language of metaphor is reduced to one simplified level (cf. ex. 7).

C Socio-Economic Reality of Sufism: The Setting for Qawwali

This section complements the discussion of Sufi ideology; it also encompasses it, in the sense of providing a socio-economic frame of reference in terms of which that ideology becomes operational. A political economy perspective is used to identify the institutions and processes which characterize the Indo-Muslim polity and then to show the dynamic by which they are related to Sufi institutions and process. Because of the historical roots of this relationship, it is necessary to introduce a historical perspective into this account, especially since the somewhat marginal place Sufism and Qawwali occupy in today's Indo-Muslim society--which itself has ceased to be the dominant polity in India--can in no way account for the power the Qawwali assembly still has as a social metaphor. Contemporary socio-political developments are touched upon only inasmuch as they explain clearly established features of Sufi practice without discussing ongoing trends toward change.

The development of Sufism within Indo-Muslim society accounts for the socio-economic framework underlying Sufi institutions, including that of Qawwali. Wile knowledge of the realities of this framework is essential for participants, especially performers, to operate within the Qawwali assembly, awareness of the purely socio-economic and political implications rarely becomes manifest and is likely to be rare in fact as well.

In the Indian subcontinent Sufism, and with it Qawwali, took root during the 13th century within the socio-cultural framework instituted by Muslim rule and under its patronage and protection (see Ahmad 1963; K.A. Nizami 1957; 1974; Rizvi 1978). Through a series of dynasties ruling from the 11th to the 18th century Muslim rule imposed a centralized agrarian bureaucracy over an existing feudal economy, in which a rigid caste system had been operating to enforce both authority structure and the local division of labour. This resulted in a social structure dominated by a ruling hierarchy of Muslim nobles and functionaries who derived their power and status in relation to their proximity to the central ruler. Local rulers enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy--expecially on the decline of Mughal power (17th to 18th c.)--and to a degree replicated the centralized elite structure (for background see Athar Ali 1966, Habib 1963, Spear 1970).

Within this elite, hierarchical relationships traditionally followed a courtier pattern of submission in return for benefice. These relationships were governed by formalized codes of behavior ('adab), and elaborate court ritual. At the core of both lay the articulation of submission and allegiance to a superior by means of a gift or offering (nazr) which, once accepted, entailed an obligation to confer benefice on the donor, thus reaffirming the link between inferior and superior members of the elite hierarchy (Ashraf 1970:72 ff). Members of the Muslim elite also validated their status and engaged in competition with one another by practising conspicuous consumption and by patronizing retainers (for background see K.A. Nizami 1974, Athar Ali 1966, Ashraf 1970).

Essentially, two types of services wer patronized by this elite, belonging to two distinctly different social strata. The "lower" services, or shāgird peshā ("serving professions," menials), comprising specialized crafts, artisan skills and personal services, were provided by hereditary professional specialists belonging to Hindu occupational castes or, more often, to their equivalent Muslim convert groups. Characterized by an ascribed status and a position of economic dependence, these groups related to the elite as in the traditional patron-client or jajmānī system prevalent throughout traditional India (for background see Wiser 1936, Lewis 1965, Kolenda 1963). Though not strictly within the caste system, Muslim occupational classes, too, were the hereditary clients serving feudal rural or urban patrons under fixed, inter-caste-like conventions of authority and submission (for sources dealing with Muslim data see e.g. Eglar 1960, Madan 1976, Ahmad 1978).

The "higher" services of administration, culture, religion and personal retainership were provided by groups drawn mainly from Muslims of foreign descent who generally belonged to the elite category within the social structure. Their relationship with patrons followed courtly conventions but contained a strongly personal and arbitrary element which accounts for the dimension of social mobility through personal allegiance. What seems significant here is that access to the centre of power and resource, personified in the ruling elite, was related to the acceptance of personal allegiance, an arbitrary criterion, not just to the heredity of occupational class. During the height of Muslim rule in the Mughal period (16th to 18th c.) this "courtier" pattern came to dominate social relations among the elites and to a degree it persists to the present. Bribery, though universally condemned in recent times, can be seen as a natural concomitant of this pattern, representing the material link (offering) between client and patron.

As a whole, traditional Muslim society in India is characterized by a basic division into two comprehensive social strata. One comprises the *ashrāf* (sing. *sharīf* i.e. "noble"), "noble" or "well-born" Muslims claiming foreign descent and holding political or economic power, especially land; it also includes those with some access to either. The other comprises the "low-born" Muslims, considered to be of indigenous origin and grouped into occupational classes or "castes" (*zāt*, a term roughly equivalent to the Hindi term for subcaste, *jātī*, but also denoting "social class" generally). These are ordered hierarchically and separated by endogamy much like their Hindu counterparts; whereas the four categories of the "well-born", based on genealogical or geographic origin, are but loosely ranked and lack strict internal endogamy. What links the entire Muslim social structure and distinguishes it from Hindu caste society is that power, both political and economic, constitutes the primary criterion of status differention. Religion can at most play a legitimizing role; in addition, religious stature can serve to enhance social status (for perspectives on Indo-Muslim social structure see Ansari 1960, Barth 1960, Dumont 1970, Ahmad 1973, Madan 1976).

Culturally, Muslim rule was oriented initially to the Persian and Central Asian realm of its origin, but gradually a blend of foreign, Islamic and indigenous Indian elements came about, however with clear superiority assigned to the former (for background see Ahmed, 1964, 1969). Thus the court language and idiom of high culture was Farsi, with

Hindi used only as a lingua franca to address the unlettered. From this, Urdu developed as a synthesis of both languages, based on Hindi structure with a heavily Persianized vocabulary. By the 18th century Urdu became the Indo-Muslim elite language and lingua franca, and indigenous Indo-Muslim cultural traditions were well established in the arts, including music (for background see Bailey 1932, Saksena 1940, Ahmed 1964, chs. 10, 11, and 1969 chs. 8, 9).

Within this socio-cultural framework Sufism established itself in the Indian subcontient along with Muslim political rule. Indeed, it came to represent and legitimize that rule, and in time Sufi practices and institutions came close to mirroring the social structural pattern of that rule.

From the beginning, Sufi leaders and their spiritual descendants played an important role in establishing centres of mystical life for Sufi adepts which also served the teaching of Islam among the non-Muslim population (Ahmed 1955, Eaton 1978). In turn, the imperial rulers were generous in granting property endowments to such Sufi establishments, in particular the shrines built around the graves of their founders. Four important Sufi orders were introduced into India during the 13th and upto the 16th century, along with other minor ones. The four are the Chishtiya and the Suhrawardiya, followed by the Naqshbandiya and the Qadriya (see Trimingham 1971: Ch.2 and Subhan 1960: Ch. 10, also Rizvi 1978 for their origin and background).

The Chishtiya is the earliest and the one spread most widely throughout India; in fact, it has remained an Indian order with little presence outside the subcontinent. Established initially by Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer and his immediate spiritual successors (see Table 12) the Chishti order was initially in close contact with the imperial Muslim court, thought some early Chishti saints, notably Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, refused to accept landgrants as rewards. But the general pattern of development was that the state supported shrine establishments by both landed endowments and also by direct patronage through members of the elite. Hand in hand went the increasing popularity of such shrines as centres of saint veneration, attracting vast numbers of uninitiated devotees in addition to the Sufis attached to the saintly lineage.

Along with this localization of Sufi practice and the concomitant need for the management of shrines and rituals came an expansion in the reckoning of Sufi lineages from the purely *spiritual* descent principle to the inclusion of *familial* descent from a founder saint. Sufism simply adopted the social-structural principle of heredity by patrilineal descent prevalent throughout Indian Muslim society, thereby according to the physical descendants of saints the hereditary right to control and manage the endowments, both spiritual and material, of their ancestor (documented in Eaton 1974 for South Indian shrines). Thus a *dargah* or Sufi shrine, whether endowed with property or not, came to be controlled by a legitimate representative of the saint buried there whose right is based on familial rather than spiritual descent (documented for Nizamuddin Auliya in Dehlavi 1964).

Theoretically, there is one single successor to the leadership of the saint and his tomb called *sajjāda nashīn* or *gaḍḍī nashīn* (the one sitting on the [saint's] prayer mat or throne), but at most large shrines at least two if not more descendants claim this right. At the major shrines of the Chishti *silsilā* such as Ajmer or Nizamuddin Auliya, entire communties of such representatives, called *pīrzāde* (pl. of *pirzādā*, son of a *pīr*, see p. 251 ff for Nizamuddin Auliya) or *khuddām* (pl. of *khādim*, one serving the saint), have a hereditary share in managing the shrine's spiritual and material benefits. Here too, however, one or several individual leaders stand out as the equivalent of an official representative or *sajjāda nashīn*, though often under different titles.

As a class, these "descendants" constitute the nobility of the Sufi shrines. Individually or collectively, they receive the income or revenue from shrine endowments. Most of all, their familial and spiritual inheritance from the saint enables them to mediate between any non-related Sufi and the saint. On one hand the descendant himself represents the saint's followers by means of traditional Sufi teaching as well as by distributing its material tokens, especially in the form of amulets (*tāwīz*). On the other hand he acts as the agent (*wakīl*) of the Sufi devotees, especially referring their concerns to the saint in their absence. Most important of all, he is entitled to accept on behalf of the saint the propitiatory offerings the devoteees bring to the saint. The devotee in turn depends on the saint's representative to cater to his spiritual and ritual needs, including the opportunity to participate in all Sufi ritual practices.

To provide these opportunities and generally maintain the shrine, the saintly representatives rely on service professionals who are attached to the shrine by hereditary right but are also subject to the cotrol of the shrine descendants. These normally include professionals providing menial services such as sweeping the shrine or cooking food which devotees wish to give away in the name of the saint. Most prominently, they also include the Qawwali performers who are indispensible to the performance of sama' assemblies as well as shrine rituals. Notwithstanding their superior professional skill and service, the Qawwals, along with all other service professionals, belong to the servants of the dargah and stand in a servile or "client" relationship of dependence to the shrine descendants. (This entire setting is exemplified by the Nizamuddin Shrine as described in the Ethnographic Section, Part A).

In sum, the central institution of Sufism in India, the dargah, clearly reflects the larger socio-economic structure of traditional Indo-Muslim society. This can be seen at two levels: At the level of a self-contained institution the Sufi dargah is a quasi-feudal establishment in which a hereditary appropriating class of saintly representatives controls the resources, whether property revenue or offerings received from devotees. Service professionals, including Qawwali performers, are attached as clients to this controlling class in a traditional patron-client arrangement by which the client has a hereditary right to perform the service but under conditions controlled by the patron.

Seen at the level of its larger socio-economic base, however, the dargah is ultimately an institution of patronage, received either directly or indirectly. Not only does the entire shrine establishment depend on wordly patronage economically; such patronage, especially from high representatives of the worldly hierarchy, also serves to reinforce its spiritual standing, validating the saint's spiritual power with tangible evidence. In return for this worldly support the Sufi dargahs have historically provided religious legitimization for the Muslim ruling elites, especially vis a vis the general subject population.

The institutional emphasis of Indian Sufism on the dargah of course does not mean that Sufism is confined to shrines; Sufis both teach and practise in all Muslim centres of the Indian subcontinent. But since the spiritual orientation of Indian Sufis generally is directed to the Sufi hierarchy and its saintly leaders, such circles, too, practice Sufism with reference at least to the saints of their own lineage. They also recognize the manifestation of saintly power in shrine establishments, just as they recognize worldly power in the seat of government; they therefore are the prime supporters of both the spiritual framework and the social sphere of saintly representation centered in the dargah.

The practice of Sufism, particularly in its ritual aspects, reflects both Sufi ideology and its socio-economic realization in the shrine hierarchy. A highly formalized code of behavior derived from Muslim court traditions governs all formal interaction between members of the Sufi community and their servants, especially as it occurs in the sama' assembly. Indeed, seen in the larger perspective of Sufi practice, the Qawwali assembly provides a prototype context for a formal "acting out" of the structural and processual features of Indian Sufism, since it is the one formal setting in which the entire Sufi community is represented. An analysis of the Qawwali assembly needs to take in account this background dimension; at the same time it will also serve to illustrate that dimension in concrete terms.

Lest this account give the impression that Sufism operates in a static social context, it should be added that, while in India Sufi shrine establishments continue to exist and operate as before, including the practise of sama', the lack of political dominance and, more particularly, the recent decimation of the feudal-based Muslim Establishment--due to land reforms and migration to Pakistan--have weakened the traditional socio-economic support base of the Sufi shrine elites, in turn reducing their power of patronage. As a concomitant, individual patronage from among the larger public has assumed more importance for Sufi institutions, including patronage from the non-Muslim elite.

D Social and Professional Identity of the Performer: Maker of Qawwali Music

In this section the same political economy perspective is extended to the performer of Qawwali, inasmuch as he is a part of the socio-economic structure of Sufism. In addition, a consideration of his professional identity as a music maker is relevant, in the light of the goal of this analysis. This outline sketch of the performer is presented here since it forms part of the background context of Qawwali, even though this information will mainly be drawn upon once the performer becomes central to the analysis. This entire discussion is exemplified in the concrete by the Ethnographic Section which deals with the performers of the Nizamuddin Auliya shrine; however, it outlines what is common to Qawwals all over India.

Within the ideological and socio-economic setting of Sufism the performer of Sufi music occupies a totally insignificant position; yet he obviously has a key function in the central ritual of Sufism. The ideological explanation of this apparent incongruity is that Sufism admits music into the sama' assembly only as a medium for spiritual advancement, to be achieved strictly through listening, while making music per se is considered against Islamic tenets. But this ideological distinction between listening to music and performing it needs also to be seen in its socio-economic manifestation within Indian Sufism, to make the peculiar position of the Qawwali performer understandable.

As mentioned, Indian Muslim society took over from Hindu caste society a hierarchial social structure in which highly developed professional skills are the preserve of endogamous groups of hereditary specialists of low caste standing (Ansari 1960). Underlying this structure is the more fundamental opposition between two general classes of society: those wo control resources and those who produce either resources or services. The dependence relationship between these two classes is regulated in various highly structured arrangements which secure appropriation to the controller or patron while granting the producer a livelihood under conditions appropriate for his personal survival.

Qawwals, like all musicians fall into the category of producers in the wider sense of producing a service. At the shrine of their affiliation they have a hereditary right to the performance opportunities for Qawwali generated and controlled by their patron, but they are in turn obligated to provide their performing services whenever needed, otherwise their patrons can admit outside performers into the hereditary performer group (as may happen if the group cannot fulfil its ritual singing obligations).

Qawwals are organized into brādrī-s, endogamous patrilineal communities defined in accordance with a common local origin and subject to a governing body of elders (panch). All male members call each other bhāyī (brother) and women normally do not seclude themselves from male brādrī members, though otherwise female seclusion is standard practice among Qawwals, in accordance with Islamic tradition. Also linked with Islamic practice is a preference for marriage within the kin group, including cousin marriage. Kinship ties are thus continually reinforced and extended bilaterally, in the manner of a kindred (cf. Neuman 1979:98, for Muslim musicians in India; and Murphy and Kasdan 1959, for Muslim practice generally).

Socially, Qawwali performers, like other service professionals, have virtually no contact with the Sufis who are their patrons. But, like all performers, they also stand out as providing a service of a public nature--i.e. articulating a valued cultural tradition--which is identified with social and cultural prestige and associated directly with the enhancement or validation of a patron's social position. Such a performer's role as a cultural "mouthpiece" entails a relatively close contact with the socio-cultural elite or "culture bearers" who are his patrons (see Irvine 1973 for a fitting elucidation of this role in a feudal Muslim Society). Personal association or "attendance" (sohbat) at the teaching circle of Sufi patrons is indeed an essential means for a Qawwal to acquire background knowledge of Sufism and its cultural expression, especially the literary dimension of Sufi poetry which requires a literate tutor. More particularly, this association is the Qawwal's opportunity to become a better exponent of the personal style and preference of the Sufis he serves in performance. He may even cement the contact with a link of discipleship, but that is in no way a necessary concomitant of what both Qawwal and Sufi consider a professional rather than a personal or spiritual tie.

Qawwals, however, are also professional musicians and share with other musicians a professional identity based on the highly specialized skill of musical competence. Among the various kinds of hereditary performers Qawwals belong to the general category of musicians with a classical music background (see Neuman 1979 for an overview of this category) and they trace their muical identity through lineages parallel to, or even converging with the gharānās (artistic lineages) of classical music (see ex. of Qawwal Bachche performers p. 309 ff). In spite of the fact that their professional specialization includes much non-musical knowledge, especially that of Sufi poetic texts, Qawwals concur with the professional evaluation generally accorded them on the basis of musical competence alone. Thus, in terms of the professional status hierarchy of musicians Qawwals consider classical musicians superior and are always ready to validate their own musical knowledge in terms of classical music to anyone offering them the tools to do so.[2]

But Qawwals also also aware of the special non-musical competence that sets them apart from other musicians, and indeed qualifies them as a kind of religious functionary, albeit one operating strictly within the socio-economic limitations of a service professional.

It is in this general setting that the Qawwal acquires his professional competence which consists of two broad areas of knowledge: one comprises the performance idiom, including music and text repertoires; the other comprises the performance context in which this idiom is to be used.

The first of these, the performance idiom and repertoire, the Qawwal learns basically from his family. Boys are instructed by their male elders--women have no part in Qawwali singing at any stage. They learn the fundamentals of music--tonal and rhythmic system, form, and rudimentary improvisation--and must memorize text and tunes of a basic repertoire of Qawwali songs. Since Qawwali is a group song, the young performer has to be initiated into the process of group singing and assigned his place in the ensemble. Who becomes a lead singer, a group singer or an instrumental accompanist is determined by musical talent, memory and quick recall of texts, as well as that elusive quality, leadership. According to his skill each young performer learns to play his part in the ensemble. In particular, the future lead singer assimilates the method of performing through listening, observing, and guided participation in the family's performing groups.

The second area of knowledge, the performance context, is given much importance by performers, for a Qawwal is not considered capable of performing on his own until he has gained an understanding of what he describes as "the up and down of the gathering" (mahfil ke nasheb-o-farāz). To begin with, the Qawwal must know the purpose of his music. This requires some background knowledge of the Sufi ideology as well as an awareness of the social reality within which Sufism operates.

More specifically, it requires experience of actual performing situations which every young Qawwal gains "on the job" while supporting his elders' performing group. What it takes, in specific terms, for the performer to achieve his goal should become clear from the analysis that follows.

CHAPTER 6

THE QAWWALI OCCASION - OVERVIEW

In this chapter the actual Qawwali assembly becomes the focus of attention. Informed by the background dimensions outlined in the previous chapter, the discussion will introduce the Qawwali assembly in its general features, i.e.: when, why, where, how and why Qawwali assemblies are held in Indian Sufism. Then follows a detailed consideration of the structure of the assembly as the occasion for the performance of Qawwali music.

As in the preceding discussion of shrines and performers, here too the example of Nizamuddin Auliya as a major setting for Qawwali performance occasions (see Ethnographic Section, Part C) may be taken as a concrete manifestation of what is outlined below for Qawwali in general.

The Qawwali assembly (*mahfil-e-qawwālī*, *qawwālī kī mahfil*)[3] is the socio-cultural institution central to Sufi ritual practice. In accordance with Sufi ideology it serves the purpose of realizing the *sama'* concept, i.e. to enable Sufis to achieve spiritual advancement (*rūhānī taraqqī*) through listening to mystical verse set to music (*qawwālī*). Specifically, such listening (*sama'*) is to evoke in the Sufi intensified mystical emotion which may culminate in a state of ecstasy or union with God. This arousal, a highly individual process, takes place within--and may cut across--the formalized Sufi hierarchy as represented by the assembled listeners. The manifest function of the Qawwali assembly, therefore, may be summed up as the spiritual arousal of individual Sufi listeners within an assembly through exposure to the musical presentation of mystical texts.

The way this religious ideal is set into practise corresponds in its basic aspects to the structural features of the Sufi community and its institutions. In accordance with the hierarchical ordering of Sufism it is those with spiritual authority who institute and control Qawwali assemblies. Hence every Qawwali occasion is led by a saint's descendant or a spiritual guide who acts in this capacity. Equally essential to every Qawwali assembly is the presence of at least one group of Qawwals who are competent to perform Qawwali in accordance with the leader's expectations. The third component, the Qawwali audience, varies widely in size and composition; it usually comprises Sufis of standing and devotees of every kind--indeed the Sufi assembly is open to all comers.

In its distribution and frequency the Qawwali assembly reflects the life of the Sufi community all over the Indian subcontinent; thus, wherever there are Sufis and Qawwals, there will be Qawwali. Hence, it is the centres of Sufism which are also the centres of Qawwali: the major Sufi shrines, especially those of the Chishti lineage (silsila, see Table 12,p. 41). At these loci of spiritual authority saintly descendants, representatives and spiritual guides hold Qawwali assemblies in which hereditary shrine Qawwals are the core performers and both resident Sufis and devotees visiting the shrine --i.e. anyone who believes in the saint's power-- constitute the core audiences.

Qawwali assemblies everywhere, but particularly at shrines, are oriented to saints, since saints symbolize the nearness to God which the Sufi seeks to achieve in *sama'*. In fact, the commemoration of a saint's final union (*wisāl*) with God on his death day (*'urs*) constitutes the prime *raison d'être* for holding Qawwali assemblies. Such anniversary commemorations range from a single Qawwali occasion led by the representative of a small shrine, or by a *sheikh* with a group of disciples, to a week-long succession of many assemblies held by different spiritual personages for different audiences among large numbers of pilgrims at a major shrine. At such shrines, Qawwali occasions are also held on the saint's monthly or weekly death days; furthermore, Qawwali is performed weekly on Thursday, the day for the remembrance of the dead in Islam, and it is often heard on Friday as well, the day of congregational prayer. In addition to these regularly scheduled events, spiritual leaders convene Qawwali events to serve their own needs or those of visiting devotees. Outside of shrines it is established Sufi *sheikhs* or saintly descendants who hold Qawwali assemblies for their followers with varying regularity but guided by the same basic pattern of their saint's commemorative days. They normally rely on performers attached to nearby shrines.

In sum, the major centres of occurrence for Qawwali are the large shrines, especially those in or near major population centres, for there the Qawwali assembly is most strongly institutionalized in all its dimensions. In particular, the anniversary of the saint provides the focal point for every kind of Qawwali assembly, since holding such assemblies is in fact the principal means of ritually commemorataing this event (see Ethnographic Section, pp. 371-375 for assemblies at Nizamuddin

Auliya).

Qawwali occasions par excellence, then, take place during the _'urs_ of the great saints at their shrines. At that time, Sufis and devotees assemble from all over the region, including representatives from other important shrines or from smaller local tombs, and spiritual guides who will in turn be sought by their disciples. Disciples and devotees of high social standing, some visiting from distant centres, others representing local worldly authority, also come to the shrine and attend Qawwali assemblies. These, as well as the many ordinary devotees from the local town or nearby villages, are drawn here to link themselves with the saint or with a spiritual guide. Finally, large numbers of local visitors attend a major _'urs_ much like a fair and take in Qawwali as well (cf. Census of India 1961, 1966).

At the core of every such major anniversary are the major Qawwali assemblies held specifically to commemorate the saint's union with God. Followed by the appropriate ritual for the dead (_qul_, _khatam_), these assemblies are attended by the largest numbers of devotees and include the entire hierarchy of Sufis present. Their time and place are fixed by tradition but vary widely between shrines and assemblies. Located near the actual tomb or otherwise close to the saint, they are held during day or night and may last from half an hour to all night.

Complementing these major performance occasions for Qawwali are what is considered by Sufis the classical _sama'_ of mystics: intimate gatherings convened by shrine notables or spiritual guides for their particular circle of Sufis, disciples or devotees. Such assemblies for the spiritually initiated are part of the regular sequence of events at every major 'urs (cf. Performance 1:315 ff). In addition, they are convened spontaneously as well. It is this type of assembly, furthermore, which is held throughout the year by Sufis both in and out of shrines.

At shrines, Qawwali is performed at yet other kinds of occasions considered to be of less significance by Sufis; they include minor shrine rituals and Qawwali performances held in the shrine compound for visiting devotees. All these are characterized by variability in spiritual leadership and audience composition.

Musically, this wide array of Qawwali performance occasions is served, first and foremost, by the local shrine performers. As hereditary shrine servants they cover ritual singing and perform at all types of assemblies as arranged by the particular patron who leads each gathering. An important shrine may require its performers to sing at about 50 assemblies in a year, circa half of them major ones. At small assemblies one local group may be the only one to perform, but for major Qawwali assemblies, and during the 'urs in particular, outside performers from nearby, and sometimes far-off shrines, visit the shrine so that assembly leaders can draw from a pool of performers. Thus the performing sequence heard at any Qawwali assembly may range from a single local performing group to a variegated series of local and outside performers singing one or two songs in turn.

With all the external variety in Qawwali assemblies, consistent features characterize their internal structure. Both performance setting and interaction process reflect the formal and functional relationship between participants in the assembly. The leader occupies the foremost place in the assembly; he regulates the performance and sets the tone of the occasion so as to best serve its spiritual purpose. The performer aims at satisfying the leader by presenting a continuous succession of Qawwali songs appropriate to the occasion, with the object of inducing and intensifying mystical arousal in the audience. The listeners, including the leader, concentrate on the impact of the Qawwali songs so as to achieve spiritual advancement through the experience of mystical arousal that may even lead to divine ecstasy. As they experience such arousal, individual devotees respond spontaneously but in accordance with religious and social convention. They express states of mystical love intuitively through movement and exclamation, culminating in the ecstatic dance of self-abandonment in mystical union. At the same time, they activate their link to the Sufi hierarchy through monetary offerings made to the leader as a gesture of devotion and allegiance. The leader accepts and then transmits the offerings to the musicians as their remuneration. All responses are continually interpreted by the musicians who adapt their performance accordingly to cater to their listeners' needs of the moment. Thus every Qawwali song performed in context is the result of a continuous process of interaction between musicians and audience.

In general, the standard of audience participation is set by the leader and prominent listeners, while ordinary devotees stay in the background. The amount of such participation varies widely between and within assemblies, depending on these listeners' spiritual state but also on their material resources. Indeed, socio-economic factors operate here alongside religious ones: Musicians sing for mystical arousal to elicit offerings and ensure the leader's patronage. Leaders work for a successful assembly so as to validate their status and expand their patronage over devotees who provide them sustenance. Listeners use the opportunity for self-expression and largesse to enhance their spiritual or social standing.

Thus, in complement with the manifest spiritual function of Qawwali, a latent function may be said to operate at the socio-economic level, consisting of the participants' self-actualization in accordance with the basic relationships that characterize Indo-Muslim society (see Ch. 5 C and D above). However, even this latent function becomes operative only at the manifest level of the Qawwali assembly as a Sufi ritual in which participants pursue a common spiritual purpose centered on Qawwali music. An analysis of the Qawwali assembly as a context of performance for Qawwali music, therefore, must begin with the consideration of this assembly as a religious ritual which is created by the participants--musicians and audience--on the basis of their shared knowledge about its religious function, its structure, and the part each is to play in the behavioral realization of this structure.

CHAPTER 7

THE QAWWALI OCCASION - STRUCTURE

In this chapter the Qawwali occasion will be considered as a socio-cultural institution with an established setting and procedure, supported by an established conceptual framework and functioning within a particular socio-economic structure. Implied in this perspective are two analytical assumptions which inform the discussion to follow. At a general level of analysis it is assumed that any cultural institution or tradition with a social component will be subject to the socio-economic constraints under which its participants operate as members of that society. Hence, the Qawwali assembly itself may serve a purpose directly related to social or economic factors that may or may not be congruent with the religious purpose or function it is explicitly serving. To accommodate this dimension it is useful to make the analytical distinction between manifest and latent function (cf. Merton 1957). In accordance with this dual perspective this analysis will first deal with the Qawwali occasion at the level of its manifest religious function as realized in concept, setting and procedure. To complement this detailed outline, the entire structure will then be considered at the level of the latent social and economic function being served by it at the same time. This implies a shift in the ethnographic focus which will be introduced when this latent function is being considered (Part D).

The second analytical assumption, more specific to the subject of this analysis, is expressed in the distinction between what is here termed--following Herndon (1974) and adapted from Asch (1975)--"occasion" and "event". As an occasion, the Qawwali assembly is seen in terms of a generalized "cognitive and social entity" (Asch 1975:245) which represents the abstracted norm that is evoked by the question: "What is a Qawwali assembly?" As an event, the Qawwali assembly is seen in terms of any one particular manifestation of that general notion which presents the concrete occurrence evoked by the question: "What is this Qawwali assembly?" Implied in this distinction is an analytical perspective that comprises two dimensions of structure: one is the practical or behavioral dimension, i.e. the ingredients of the Qawwali process, the other is the theoretical or cognitive dimension, i.e. the conceptions or norms that underlie these ingredients.

Since the analytical distinction between the cognitive and the behavioral dimension owes its conceptualization to ethnoscience (cf. Ch. 1:19 ff), it is important to clarify that here this analytical distinction is used as a tool to deal with process and its underlying structure, not as an approach to analysis itself. The ethnoscientific approach is based on the assumption that there are two ethnographic domains, the cognitive and the behavioral, and that they yield to two types of analysis: one formal, componential or semantic, the other situational. Research generated by this approach has significantly refined the analysis of the cognitive domain and thus clarified for all anthropological analysis the distinction between analyst's and informant's--or "emic" and "etic"--categories of perception. In dealing with a culttural tradition which is so obviously founded on the conceptual framework of a religious ideology, the ethnoscientific approach would seem to be eminently suitable. Indeed, it provides useful analytical categories for dealing with the semantic framework of conceptualizations that constitute the ideology of the Qawwali occasion. However, separating the ideology analytically creates the illusion of a dichotomy between the ideal and the real, or behavioral domain. This interferes with an understanding of the complex interplay that actually takes place during a Qawwali event between norms or standard expectations on one hand, and individual strategies or behavioral responses on the other, in which the ideology represents a point of reference for confirming norms as well as for actualizing individual strategies.

Thus, rather than dealing with conceptualizations as a separate cognitive domain (and thereby isolating the behavioral domain in opposition to it), I propose to deal with the Qawwali occasion as an ethnographic entity, but from a cognitive as well as a behavioral perspective. There are three ethnographic domains that together constitute the Qawwali occasion. The two that directly embody its structure are the setting and the procedure of the occasion, the third is the "charter" or ideology that serves as conceptual frame of reference--an integral part of a ceremonial that forms part of an elaborated religious ideology. Accordingly, the analysis to follow will fall into three parts. The central parts cover the actual structure of the Qawwali occasion: one covers the Qawwali setting and deals with such factors as time, place, participants and decorum; the other covers the Qawwali process and deals with the participants' interaction, focussing particularly on the listeners' states and their outward expression. Preceding these two parts will be a discussion of the Qawwali "charter", the concept of what the Qawwali occasion represents. This introduction will provide the necessary intelligibility for the discussion of the Qawwali process. Taken together, the three-part procedure will serve to present an analytical summary of the structure of the Qawwali occasion.

The structure to be outlined here is part of the knowledge current today among participants in Qawwali practise and found among members of different Sufi teaching traditions, although the particular version presented here most closely represents the teachings of the Chishti lineage, the principal exponent of Qawwali in India. It is important to note as well that the notions governing the Qawwali occasion, like other Sufi conceptions, are shared among all the participants in the Qawwali occasion, including the performers--even though their part is merely to provide service. For informed Sufis and scholars their knowledge of Qawwali structure takes the form of a fully developed scheme while others, including most performers, have a more limited access to this knowledge and thus confine their awareness to the areas in which they are directly involved as participants.

My own understanding of the structure of the Qawwali occasion derives from the observation of Qawwali events and their interpretation by Sufi divines, devotees and performers through teaching and conversations, supported by evidence from scholars and the Sufistic literature in use among Sufis today (e.g. Hujwiri 1970; Sijzi 1884, Ghazali 1979; Rahman 1971). Of all these sources, those recognized by all participants as most relevant and authentic are practising Sufis with a spiritual as well as an intellectual standing (see Acknowledgements). To make this prime ethnographic source data accessible to the reader, Appendices 15 and 19-21 outline these Sufi conceptions in summary form, as they presented themselves to the analyst. This set of principal rules and conditions for the Qawwali occasion also includes commonly known principles laid down by classical Sufism which serve as a background charter of Qawwali (see Ch. 5 A). As in the music analysis, a set of tables (Tables 15-22) presents the steps of the entire analysis in summary form. They complement the Appendices wherever applicable. Throughout the chapter, reference will be made to Performances 1 and 2 described in the Ethnographic Section when they exemplify a feature discussed here.

A Concept

The concept of the Qawwali occasion in today's Indian Sufism includes a layered composite of rules and conventions developed initially out of principles expounded by early saints and divines, and adapted in accordance with changing social conditions. The principles laid down between the 11th and 14th centuries not only serve as a charter for this concept but contribute to an amazing extent to the conceptions in use today. What has happened since is an expansion of these principles to take account of the more public context of Indian Sufism in recent centuries (as dealt with in Chapter 5:121 ff).

The Qawwali occasion is conceptualized in two complementary ways, each equally significant for an understanding of its structure, and each reflecting basic assumptions rooted in the ideological and socio-economic background of Indian Sufism. The two conceptualizations are represented by the two formal appellations applied to the Qawwali occasion by Sufis:

one is the mahfil-e-sama' (gathering for listening), the other darbār-e-auliyā (royal court of saints). Each suggests for the Qawwali occasion a conceptual structural framework centered on the listener; one focussing on the listener in relation to the medium of performance (the music), the other focussing on the listener in relation to the total audience. In both the performer is included only by implication.

The Qawwali Occasion as mahfil-e-sama' or Gathering for Listening

As a Gathering for Listening to music the Qawwali occasion is conceived of in accordance with its primary purpose: to serve as a context for the Sufi's encounter with mystical experience through listening to music. The focus here is on the individual listener and on that which he hears, i.e., the medium of performance. They way the two are seen to interrelate in the process of listening rests on certain assumptions regarding both the influcence of the music on the listener, and the listener's response to the music.

Three assumptions concern the power of the medium of performance, i.e. Qawwali music; two of them Sufism holds in common with other Islamic traditions; the third one is unique to the Sufi community. The first assumption, fundamental to all of Islam, concerns the power of the word. Based on the primacy of God's word in the Koran, this assumption applies to the Qawwali occasion, with regard to the power of mystical thoughts and feelings expressed in Sufi poetry (see Ch. 5 B). The second assumption concerns the effective application of the word through the power of repetition, particularly rhythmic repetition as practised in zikr.

The third assumption, and the one most fundamental to the Qawwali occasion, concerns the musical rendering in which both the word and its rhythmical repetitions are clothed. It is assumed that musical sound (*ghinā*, i.e. song, music' or *achchhī āwāz*, i.e. melodious, pleasing sound, voice) has the power to stir the soul (*tahrīk-e-qalb*), and to arouse emotions of love to the point of including ecstasy.

Moreover, the effect of music on the receptive listener's emotion is immediate, for it transcends the striving of the intellect, as attested in Sufi verse (e.g. the much-quoted *khushk tār-o-khushk chob-o-khushk posh*). Through the Qawwali occasion Sufism utilizes this power of music as a means for spiritual progress (*rūhānī taraqqī kā ek zariyā*), by activating and directing the listener's emotions of love toward the divine by way of its manifestations, beginning with the Sheikh, leading through saints and the Prophet to cognition (*ma'rifat*) of the ultimate Truth (*haq*). According to Sufis, the primary precedent for this power of musical sound was set at the time of Creation when the beauty of God's voice transported the human soul into a state of divine ecstasy (*wajd*). It is implied in this assumption, however, that music can also stir emotions of love towards profane purposes. For this reason Sufi music is to be given a religious character through text choice and the invocation of *zikr*, and through rules of style and presentation avoiding profane association.

Ultimately, though, the focus in the *mahfil-e-sama'*, rather than being on the music itself, is on the listener and on his ability to draw spiritual benefits from the music. Two assumptions concerning the process of spiritual arousal are relevant here; they are related to the two dimensions of mystical love (see Ch. 5 p. 100 f). The first one concerns the listening process as an individualized means for the Sufi devotee to activate emotion on the basis of his inner state and according to his personal need of the moment. This implies that the listener responds to the music intuitively and individually, and he must therefore be provided with a structural setting of utmost flexibility and scope for self expansion. At the same time it is also assumed that the individual's mystical emotion finds fulfilment through his link with the spiritual hierarchy. The process of arousal through listening, then, must take place within the frame of reference of the Sufi hierarchy and be directed toward its divine prepresentatives. This is all the more esential because love, as an emotional force, can be directed toward a profane as well as a divine target.

For the individual listener, the totality of the Sufi spiritual framework and his own place within it become realized in the concept of the Qawwali occasion as Royal Court of Saints (darbār-e-auliyā).

The Qawwali Occasion as darbār-e-auliyā or Royal Court of Saints

This conceptualization of the Qawwali assembly represents the institutional framework within which the Sufi's personal quest for mystical union is realized. The way in which the listener relates to this spiritual order or framework reflects two assumptions basic to the Indo-Muslim social order. One concerns inner reality as confirmed in outward manifestation; accordingly, the spiritual reality of the Sufi saintly hierarchy is manifested in the physical presence of its assembled representatives in the assembly. I know of no better charter for this conception than the 13th century poetic vision by the Sufi poet Amir Khusrau in one of Sufism's best-known and beloved poems (namī dānam che manzil būd) where the poet finds himself transported in an ideal assembly of ecstatic Sufi saints, exalted by the Prophet's presence and presided over by God himself. Thus in the Sufi assembly the individual listens to Qawwali in the presence of his spiritual superiors and under the ultimate authority of the presiding figure among them.

The second assumption complements the first one and concerns the requirement for formal rules to govern individual expression. For the Qawwali occasion this means that external form serves as a framework indicating symbolically the individual's submission of his personal emotional experience to the spiritual interpretation of the Sufi system. It is in this sense that Sufis consider that love is achieved firstly through form (adab muhabbat kā pahlā qarīnā hai).

On the basis of both these assumptions the Qawwali occasion as an assembly of divines has come to be conceptualized in terms of its equivalent in the worldly authority structure: the royal court of Muslim rulers and its formal etiquette (cf. Ch. 5:117 ff). It is implied in this concept that spiritual status does not contradict worldly status; rather, both must be incorporated in the formal scheme of external manifestation. Accordingly, the Qawwali occasion is a formal assembly, structured in accordance with the relative status of its participants, headed by the highest spiritutal authority, and musically attended to by service professionals.

In its totality, both as mahfil-e-sama' and as darbār-e-auliyā the conception of the Qawwali occasion may be termed an occasion for Sufi devotees to experience mystical arousal within the framework of the Sufi spiritual hierarchy, through the medium of mystical songs performed by professional functionaries. This conception, along with all its implications regarding performer, medium of performance and audience, informs the structure of the Qawwali occasion in respect to setting as well as procedure.

B Setting

Setting comprises factors that remain fixed throughout the Qawwali occasion or are prerequisite to it. They include dimensions of time, space and occasion as well as personnel. It is on the basis of setting factors that categories of Qawwali occasions have come to be distinguished along with corresponding expectations regarding the procedure of the assembly. *Table 15* outlines categories of personnel, while *Table 16* summaries factors of setting.

The first and foremost aspect of setting is that the assembly must be in charge of a spiritual authority, whether in the person of a spiritual guide (*sheikh*) or a saint personified by his representative. The entire proceedings are in the care of this spiritual leader of "chief of the assembly" (*mīr-e-mahfil*) and he is responsible for the spiritual welfare of the participants. Thus the establishment of the "proper conditions" for a purposeful assembly ultimately rests with him. To quite an extent, the leader gives the gathering its character and hence assemblies are often identified by their leader, as X's assembly.

Normally, the leader of the assembly is also its spiritually most exalted member. However, a representative of a senior saint (saint

TABLE 15: CATEGORIES OF PARTICIPANTS

ASSEMBLY LEADER (mīr-e-mahfil)

+ Spiritual Status, derived from saintly ancestor
  a) saints' representative at shrine (sajjādanashīn, gaddīnashīn, sajjādā).
  b) saints' descendant or equivalent (pīrzādā, khādim, khwārzādā).

+ Spiritual Status, derived from personal following
  a) spiritual guide (pīr, sheikh).

AUDIENCE (sunnewāle)

+SE + Spiritual Seniority, derived from saintly ancestor
  a) senior saints' representative at shrine.

+S + Spiritual Status, ancestral or personal
  a) saints' representative or descendant.
  b) spiritual guide or senior devotee.

Spiritual status holders (Sūfi, Mashāikh Fuqarā)

+W + Wordly Status
  a) based on wealth (rich devotees).
  b) based on power (officials, patrons).

Wordly status holders ('umarā)

Participants with status (khās)

- - Status
  a) minimal spiritual (poor devotees.
  b) minimal worldly (non-religious young men).

PERFORMERS (qawwāl)

+ Local Shrine Affiliation
  a) communal group.
  b) private party.

- shrine affiliation
  a) local.
  b) outside visitors.

Participants without status ('ām)

+ Other Shrine Affiliation
  a) senior saint's shrine.
  b) minor saint's shrine.

APPENDIX 15: CONCEPTS OF PARTICIPANTS
According to Assembly Participants

mīr-e mahfil (Assembly Leader)

sunnewāle ('Listeners'):

mashāikh ('Leader')
sūfi ('Mystics')
fuqarā ('Mendicants') } = spiritual personages
darwesh

'umarā ('wealthy people') = worldly personages
} khās ('special') = with status

'ām ('common') = without status

qawwāl ('Performers'):

maurūsī ('hereditary')
khās ('special') } = with shrine affiliation

'ām ('common') = without affiliation

higher in status than the patron saint of the occasion) may grace the assembly with his presence. In such a case he will be recognized as the ceremonial head of the assembly (see Formal Response p. 180) and the leader regains charge of the assembly by his leave, while he may assert his own authority through the leader. It is also possible for a devotee of social prominence to sponsor a Qawwali occasion in association with a spiritual leader, usually his own guide. Sponsorship, in this case, implies material backing only, while the authority over the assembly is placed entirely in the hands of the spiritual leader.

Next in importance and closely linked to the presiding personage, is the audience. According to the generally accepted classical rules the assembly is open to serious devotees who are in a spiritual frame of mind and ritually pure (bā-wuzu, i.e. having performed ablutions). Women, as well as young boys, are specifically excluded because of the temptation their presence constitutes. This rule is geneally enforced; for women in particular, a separate enclosure may be provided as is in keeping with Indo-Muslim social custom. As for the rule requiring a spiritual orientation, it can, for obvious reasons, serve only as a standard for attendance annd deportment; for the rest, there is an ideological commitment in Indian Sufism to accept all comers which in effect means that no one is to be prevented from attending a Qawwali assembly--exceptionally not even a woman ((i.e. the analyst). In actual fact, it is the leader's stature which effectively determines the character of the audience mainly through the presence of his personal following of associates and devotees. In a small-scale or privately held gathering they make up the entire audience; in a large public assembly they form its prominent core.

A Qawwali audience, then, may range from a small, homogenous group to a large, heterogenous crowd. The former is most characteristically ?r?rled by a spiritual guide with or without hereditary affiliation with a major saint and consists of the circle of his personal disciples (see Performances 1 & 2). As assembly led by a recognized representative of a major saint and held at his tomb, on the other side, draws from the large general following such saints have, and therefore may include not only the leader's personal disciples but also other spiritual guides with their disciples and representatives of other saints as well as, in addition, individual devotees outside the spiritual status framework.

It is in this type of audience that status categories according with general social norms become relevant: these are socio-economic standing and, to a much more limited degree, seniority. Persons of high socio-economic status are, in fact, an important audience component, especically since devotees from this class have traditionally been the worldly patrons of the Sufi divines (see above Ch. 5 C).

Indeed, a partnership between spiritual and feudal lords exists historically, as conceptualized in the paired idioms that group together "the saintly" and "the wealthy" as *fuqarā aur umarā* (*fuqarā* = plural of *faqīr*, i.e. saintly mendicant; *umarā* = plural of *amīr*, i.e. wealthy leader)[4]. Persons of high status, both spiritual and worldly, are furthermore classed into the category of "special" or "noble" (*khās*, *sharīf*), as distinguished from those lacking either who are residually termed common or lowly (*'ām*, *zalīl*). This latter distinction even serves to identify an assembly by its dominant audience component: a special assembly (khās mahfil) is one consisting only of special people and implying a limited number of listeners, while a common assembly ('ām mahfil) is one attended by common people as well, which, given their relative number, implies a large audience.

Seniority in the form of old age cuts across all these categories for it accords to the individual the status of potential spirituality; this is expressed in the fact that the very term for old or senior person (buzurg) is also applied to all saints. The implication of the spirituality of old age is contrasted with the assumed worldliness of the young men's category (naujawān tabqā), which, in the absence of other status constitutes the least significant component of a Qawwali audience.

The remaining participants are the performers. They are peripheral to the setting of the assembly, principally because they stand in a service relationship with the leader. While their presence is obviously prerequisite to the performance of Qawwali, that presence is ensured by the leader who also controls the appearance of particular performing groups--apart from the obligatory presence of hereditary performers at their shrine. Thus it is only as a category of service professionals that the performers are part of the Qawwali setting, not as individuals. Also, since their interest in the assembly is recognized as being professional rather than spiritual, the performers are not expected to have a devotee's disposition or training. Even those who are formally attached to the Sufi hierarchy by a discipleship bond are not considered to be Sufis or devotees[5]. In fact, in the case of the performers the rule specifying good personal and ritual habits is hardly considered relevant beyond its external manifestation in the assembly (see below for decorum).

As summarized on Table 16, a number of distinct, but related categories constitute the formal setting of the Qawwali assembly. Among factors of formal setting, what occasions the holding of an assembly is of first importance and influences the more circumstantial aspects such as time and place.

In keeping with its function, the primary occasion for holding a Qawwali assembly is one invoking mystical union. Foremost among them is the day of a saint's final union with God ('urs), followed by other commemorative days (as discussed in Ch. 6: 106 above and summarized on Table 16 A). Likewise, the primary place for holding a Qawwali assembly is one linked to mystical precedent, most of all the locus of his final union, i.e. the shrine, but also any other locality with an associational link to a saint (e.g. the Chilla of Baba Farid near the Nizamuddin Auliya shrine, see Performance 1:376 ff), or one graced by a living personage of high spiritual standing (summarized on Table 16 B and discussed above p. 106 f).

As for the specific location of the assembly, two types of locales have come to be distinguished, one is the house or abode (makān) of classical Sufism see Rahman 1971); a private, secluded room or hall where a select Sufi audience can meet without providing access to curious outsiders; the other is the large hall or shrine yard designated to accommodate the numerous devotees who congregate at a saint's anniversary. Major shrines contain both types of locale. The first type consists of the hujrā (cell or meeting room) of saintly representatives

TABLE 16: SETTING CATEGORIES

a) Occasion		
	1. Saint's Anniversary - death day - special life event	a) commemoration period b) death day ritual
	2. Saint's Special Day - monthly death day - weekly special day	a) general commemoration b) ritual commemoration
	3. Opportune Day in Islam - day of remembering the dead (Thu) - day of weekly prayer (Fri)	
	4. Spiritual Need	
b) Place		
	1. Saint's Abode	a) tomb proper b) saint's dwelling place c) shrine area
	2. Spiritual Guide's Abode	
c) Locale		
	1. Public Place	a) shrine compound b) hall
	2. Private Place	a) cell (spiritual use) b) room
d) Time/Duration - related to Islamic prayer times:		

1 Fajr:	2 Zohr:	3 Asr:	4 Maghrib:	5 Ishā:
dawn	mid-day	mid-afternoon	sunset	after nightfall

1. Fixed by Ritual Requirement	a) preceding specified prayer by 1-2 hrs (before zohr or maghrib)
2. Extended/open-ended - no prayer-time constraint	a) morning to mid-afternoon (after fajr) b) night (after ishā).
3. Limited in Duration - by prayer time - by ritual time	a) between short-interval prayers (Zohr-Asr-Maghrib-Ishā) b) preceding ritual

which usually surround the tomb and its courtyard (Performance 2:357 ff is held in such a location: a hujrā at the Nizamuddin Auliya shrine). The second type includes the shrine courtyard itself and various halls especially designated for Qawwali assemblies in and around shrines (there are two such halls at Nizamuddin, see p 373 below; locales are summarized on Table 16 C).

Time and duration for the Qawwali occasion vary considerably. What must be observed are the customary timings of commemorative rituals; for the rest, any time not requiring attention toward worldly cares is suitable, provided that prayer times are avoided. Ritual commemorations are generally held during the day and their duration is constrained by ritual requirements. Substantial Qawwali assemblies are often held during the earlier part of the day when no prayer is scheduled--this is a preferred time for anninversary assemblies at some shrines. But the favorite time for substantial assemblies is the night when no interruption threatens, continuing as late as early morning prayer (e.g. Performance 2). Of all times, the early morning hours have a special aura of meditative spirituality. Otherwise it is the times with ritual association that hold a special sanctity, most of all the concluding commemoration ritual at the annual 'urs of a saint (qul or khatam).

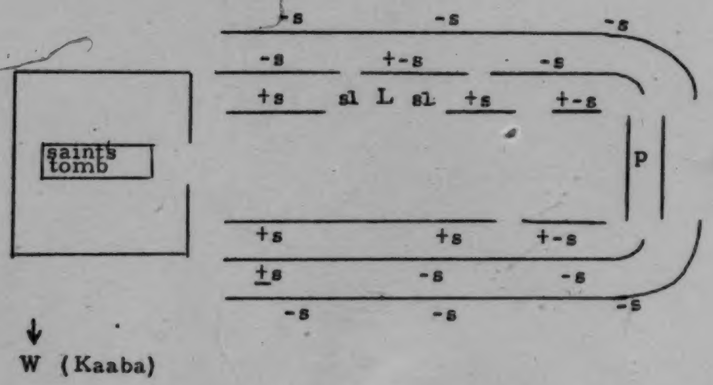
The duration of a Qawwali assembly is relatively open-ended to allow for its conclusion at any spiritually beneficial time. Certain assemblies are limited in duration by a timing of ritual or prayer; such events generally last from one to two hours (Performance 1 precedes a ritual see p. 316). Four to five hours are quite standard for the duration of a Qawwali occasion not limited by ritual need (time and duration are summaried on Table 16 D).

Part of the setting of the Qawwali occasion is the decorum observed within the assembly, including the physical arrangements, seating order and participants' dress and posturing. The internal structuring of the occasion is modelled after the concept of a royal court of Sufi divines convened in the name of a saint by his spiritual or familial descendants. By implications, the saint is himself present through his representative, and so are other saints if their desdendants are in attendance. Each is recognized according to his position in the spiritual hierarchy, with the most exalted presiding.

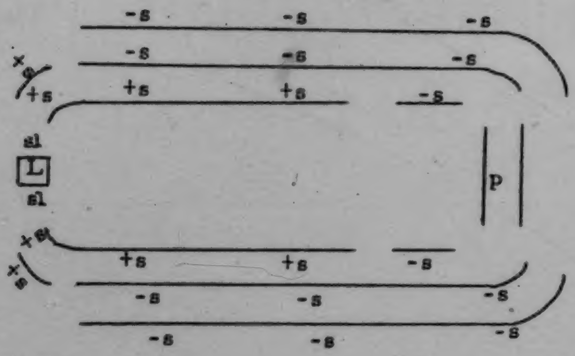
There is a formal seating order in the assembly as is shown on Table 17. Appropriate both to the function of the assembly and its status arrangement, it reflects the formal relationship between performers and listeners, and among listeners differences of standing. Worldly status, too, is recognized within this framework as a secondary principle of audience ordering. The highest place is assigned to the saint presiding over the assembly, either represented by his tomb, if the assembly is held at his own shrine or *darbār* (Court), or else by his *gaḍḍī* (throne) in the form of the seat occupied by his most exalted representative who controls the event. Directly opposite is the space set apart for the performers, who thus principally face and address the "throne". The remaining listeners are seated facing each other along the central open space between throne and performers (both Performance examples have this format). If the assembly is held at a saint's tomb, the row facing in the direction of the holy Kaaba[6] (see Table 17) is reserved for the leading saintly representatives, including the leader himself.

TABLE 17: LAYOUT PLAN AND SEATING ARRANGEMENT

A. ASSEMBLY HELD AT TOMB OF SAINT


-s -s -s
-s +-s -s
+s sl L sl +s +-s
saint's tomb
p
+s +s +-s
±s -s -s
-s -s -s
W (Kaaba)

B. ASSEMBLY HELD ELSEWHERE


-s -s -s
-s -s -s
xs +s +s +s -s
sl
L
sl
p
xs +s +s -s
xs -s -s -s
-s -s -s

s	status (listener with or without)
L	leader
sl	spiritual leaders
p	performers
↓	cardinal direction

Additional listeners are seated behind the front rows and rarely behind the performers when conditions are crowded.

Quite naturally, participants take front or back seats in accordance with their status, social or spiritual. The leader will ensure that special or prominent listeners are given prominent seating up front near the *gaḍḍī*; very rarely is he required to relegate a presumptuous commmoner to the back.

Given the fact that the Qawwali assembly is a performance occasion, it is significant to note that the seating order does not facilitate the listeners' focus on the performers. This reflects the purpose of the assembly to promote for the listeners an inner concentration on the mystical quest with the help of the Qawwali as a medium only. In fact, in some mystical traditions the devotees are not even to raise their eyes toward the performers (e.g. in the Abu Ulahi *silsila*). Only the leader faces the Qawwals directly, for he is required to control them thus.

A certain external decorum is required of participants: the dress should correspond to traditional standards of decency and include a head covering, the traditional symbol of respect in Islam. There is, however, no rule of conformity as to style of dress, as long as the appearance of the Sufi does not serve the purpose of show. Indeed, the Sufi tradition of non-conformity with orthodoxy has found expression in a wide range of acceptable apparel, reflecting both the Sufi's individual preference and the standing of his saintly lineage. The classical dress of Sufi saints or Sheikhs, characterized by a turban (*sāfā*), a long cloak (*khirqā*) and usually a long scarf draped over the shoulders (*galdaonī*) still designates exalted spiritual standing today, but serves higher-ranking

Sufis in conjunction with the preference for discreetness that marks high social status in Indo-Muslim Society. Accordingly, Sufis with higher standing either wear the traditional Sufi attire in plain or inconspicuous colouring or even prefer the traditional formal apparel of the Muslim secular elite, adorned by the scarf marking their particular Saint's identity (e.g. K in Performance 1). Conspicuous Sufi dress, on the other hand, generally is worn by representatives of minor shrines.

The performers are subject to similar general rules of dress. Unlike Sufi listeners, however, they should not wear anything conspicuous that attracts undue attention, but as a transmitter of aesthetic as well as spiritual delight the Qawwal should nevertheless be appealing in his personal appearance.

Deportment within the assembly must convey respect for the saintly presence at all times. This respect is to be expressed first of all through a sitting posture that does not show the feet--a sign of disrespect in Indo-Musliim tradition. The ideal sitting position is one of kneeling while sitting on the heels, preferably with the right foot crossed over the left one, arms dropped by the sides, head bowed--the classical devotional posture of submission in Islam prescribed for the prayer ritual. Changing position and moving about are frowned upon as attracting undue attention to the physical presence. The greatest onus for realizing this ideal of deportment is on the leader who sets the standard for all others, as well as on the front ranks of the assembly in general. Indeed, spiritual leaders sit for hours without moving during an assembly. Peformers too are expected to stay within the general confines of decent deportment which means that any explanatory or emphasising gestures should be restricted to occasional movements and to facial expression and conform to the same rules for sitting position.

C Procedure

The proceedings of the Qawwali assembly (see Table 18) are governed by a rather flexible structural framework which is subject to the guidance of the leader in accordance with the function of the occasion. This guidance or potential control also extends to the sequence of Qawwali songs performed and the audiences' response to them.

The religious cast of the Sufi assembly is formally expressed in the fact that it "begins and ends with the Koran," specifically in the form of the Koranic recitation and prayer offered to the dead in Islam (fāteha̅). Thus the beginning of the event consists of chanted recitation from various sūras of the Quran, at least including, and always concluding with the relevant koranic portion for the Fateha (sūra-e-fāteha̅), followed by an intercessary prayer (du'ā). The very end of the assembly is marked with a similar prayer. Specific reference to the assembly to its place in the Sufi universe is made through the recitation of the spiritual genealogy (shijrā), that links the presiding saint or even his representative to the Sufi hierarchy, reaching up to Prophet Muhammad. All this recitation is led by the assembly leader who chants himself or else designates a supporter to do so, especially for the genealogy which requires extensive memorization. However, in accordance with the Muslim concept of man's equality before God, anyone with the competence may take his turn in reciting a koranic passage--

TABLE 18: STANDARD PERFORMANCE FORMAT

I. KORANIC RECITATION (Duration:5-15 min.)		→ Leader
a) Prayer for the Dead (fātehā)		leader
b) Other passages (qir'at)		prominent and competent listeners
c) Sufi Genealogy (shijrā)		leader or expert
d) Intercessary Prayer (du'ā)		leader
II. QAWWALI SINGING (Duration:1/2-5 h.)		→ Performers
a) Songs of obligatory ritual use	Hymns (panchāyatī gāne)	communal group of local shrine
b) Songs of customary ritual use		
c) Songs freely chosen, - guided by thematic sequence of focussing on God Prophet Saints mystical love and states		'private parties'
d) Songs of obligatory or customary ritual use	(in place of a) or b))	
III. KORANIC RECITATION (Duration:2-5 min.)		→ Leader
a) Prayer for the Dead (fātehā)		

including, but rarely, a Qawwal.

The Qawwali songs, then, are religiously legitimized, so to speak, by the koranic frame of reference. Inside this frame, the sequencing of songs is governed by further religious conventions. All Chishti and most Qadri lineages (see Ch. 5: 120) include in their tradition at least one obligatory hymn which marks either the beginning (e.g. Nizamuddin Auliya) or the end (e.g. Muinuddin Chishti, Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz, see Table 12)of their assemblies. Called *Qaul* (i.e. "saying"), the hymn is based on a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad in which he designates his son-in-law Ali as his spiritual successor (*maulā*) and thus establishes the principle of spiritual successorship on which the concept of the Sufi hierarchy is founded (cf. ex. 1:320, Performance 1:389). Prominent saintly lineages add one or more obligatory hymns which refer to their founding saint. The best-known of such hymns is the *Rang* (colour, delight), a Hindi hymn in which the 14th century Sufi poet Amir Khusrau rejoices over finding his spiritual guide in Nizamuddin Aulia, thus testifying to the principle of discipleship and to this saint as the ideal Sheikh or Pir (cf. Performance 1:392). (Other such hymmns are *k̲h̲wājā-e-k̲w̲ājagān* for Muinuddin Chishti, *bekāram-o-bākāram* for Nasiruddin Chiragh-e-Dehli).

There is a small number of ritually used hymns that customarily follow the obligatory ones on special ritual occasions, principally the anniversary of a saint. Prominent examples among these are a second *Qaul* also in Arabic, (*lā tamāfī*) as well as some Persian and Hinḍi songs (e.g. the Persian *ghazal* *bak̲h̲ūbī* cf. p. 54 above) or the Hindi songs *āj badhāvā* and *āj tonā* all for Amir Khusrau and Nizamuddin Auliya) which may also be heard in other contexts.

Outside the obligatory hymns the songs performed should follow the convention common to Islamic tradition of beginning any formal endeavour with the praise of God, followed by the praise of the Prophet (see e.g. the traditional introduction in Urdu books). Thus the thematic sequence of songs for a proper Qawwali occasion is similarly hierarchical; it begins with poems in the praise of God (hamd), continues with praise of the Prophet (na't), and then goes on to the praise of saints (manqabat). Other mystical themes follow in the form of poems expressing mystical emotions (love, separation, union, etc., see above Ch. 5:110 f). This conventional order of song themes is no more than a general guide, however, for in fact the choice of poetry and songs is left open to the inspiration of the performer, although a listener may make a request for a particular song. This is in keeping with the Sufi conception of the mystical experience as a blessing (faiz) ultimately intuitional in nature (cf. Ch. 5:103 f)and therefore beyond elicitation through formal procedures such as text choices. For the listener's heart to be moved, anything may become fortuitous enough, not only the song's message, its musical presentation or its delivery, but also other factors such as the occasion of a saint's union with God, the intensifying presence of a Sheikh, the powerful ambiance of a saint's tomb, and even the auspicious time of an early morning assembly. Considered in this conceptual context, the performance itself is never taken to be the actual cause of blessing, only the medium through which the Sufi's heart becomes truly receptive to the mystical message.

Given these considerations, it is therefore enough for the leader to see that the song choices stay within the bounds of the Sufi tradition and the poetry within the thematic realm appropriate to the mystical quest in general. Here particular attention needs to be given to the maintenance of the delicate boundary between that which suggests mystical and that which suggest human love--for the wrong sentiments must not be stirred in the listener. It is the leader of an assembly who is responsible for maintaining a spiritually appropriate standard of song choices. As regards text, explicitly inappropriate is love poety that lacks a link (nisbat) with mysticism, whether through its content, its author or its historical association. The same concern extends to the music of the songs and their style of presentation. While the singer is expected to adorn his songs with some basic musical sophistication, even extending it to the use of classical ragas, his music should not make itself conspicuous through artful vocal display or the use of current popular song style. Inappropriate in the same sense is a theatrical performance style that attracts undue attention to the singer's person. In case of any such lapse, it is part of the general expectation that the leader will exercise a veto over the performer and direct his performance to a more appropriate course. A modicum of gestures is nevertheless considered acceptable, as long as these stay within the bounds of what a Sufi uses to express mild enthusiasm, prime among them the raised arm with palm upturned (hāth batānā, see Table 20 below).

Listening Process

The Qawwali listening process, i.e. the part played by the Qawwali audience, is subject to only limited external structuring; however there are guidelines and even rules to facilitate the achievement of the spiritual purpose of the assembly while maintaining its decorum. If necessity, these rules are flexible, since their application needs to govern a wide range of both internal experience and external expression. Indeed they even embody certain potential contradictions inherent in both the experience and its expression. To begin with, the spiritual advancement through intensified mystical love requires that the process of emotional arousal be allowed to progress to its culmination. On the other hand, the outward physical expression that results naturally from such a process must be prevented from causing a distracting external effect that would be detrimental to the spiritual goal. As for the achievement of the mystical goal itself, conditions must be created to promote both the dimension of conscious striving and that of ecstatic self-abandonment. For, on one hand, the process of arousing mystical love is cultivated to progress through stages of gradually intensifying emotion, implying consciousness; on the other hand this process may culminate at any time in a state of ecstasy resulting in an obliteration of the conscious self.

Central to the mediation of these potential contradictions is the Sheikh, or spiritual leader, not only as the one in a position of controlling the sama'_ proceedings, but more specifically, in his recognized capacity as a teacher and guide setting an example to the other listeners.

Listening to Qawwali is part of the spiritual training a Sufi receives from his Sheikh. Until fully initiated he is to listen under spiritual guidance and in the presence of his Sheikh or a spiritual superior. Cultivating the spiritual delight of mystical arousal and allowing it to progress to the point of ecstasy is a gradual process achieved only by the spiritually advanced. The dynamic of the process is conceptualized in what amounts to stages in a continuum, ranging from the unaroused normal inner state to the state of ecstasy. These states are most adequately represented as a framework of three stages linked along a continuum, as summarized on Table 19. In their own categories, as presented in Appendix 19, participants focus mainly on nuances within the stage of altered consciousness, often relating them to differences in mystical tradition and personal conception. The stage of normal consciousness they generally take for granted; nevertheless, seen analytically, it is clearly part of the conceptual scheme and must therefore be included in an analytical perspective. Best termed "neutral", this stage is characterized by the absence of any spiritual arousal (symbolized as 0 on Table 19).

Of the three stages of arousal, the first is characterized by conscious intent: to adopt a devotional attitude with the help of spiritual discipline, to keep the inner senses focussed on manifestations of the mystical goal. Thus the inner eye should see but the image of the Sheikh, and the inner ear hear but the name of God over and over (as in zikr). The result is an inner state of receptiveness to the mystical experience in which the listener easily responds to the spiritual stimulation in the Qawwali songs, experiencing enthusiasm and what may be termed the beginnings of emotional arousal (exemplified in both Performances).

The second stage includes the entire range of states characterized

TABLE 19: FRAMEWORK OF SPIRITUAL AROUSAL

a) Concepts underlying Framework

3 Overlapping contrast sets provide structure for continuum of increasing intensity

1) Neutral	vs	Aroused State
2) Potential Spiritual experience Incipient Arousal	vs	Strong Arousal Realized spiritual experience
3) Arousal within control of self	vs	Arousal outside control of self

b) Stages of Arousal

Based on above concepts and organized along single intensity continuum

	Stage	Intensity	Self Control
0	Neutral, receptive to spiritual arousal	increasing ↓	+
I	Activated devotional attitude Enthusiasm Incipient or mild arousal		+
II	Deeply moved, overcome with emotion Intense spiritual experience Strong arou[illegible]l		+
III	Transported, self obliterated Trance, ecstasy		-

APPENDIX 19: SPIRITUAL AROUSAL
According to Qawwali Participants

a) Collective Concepts

F - kaifiyat (rūhānī kaifiyat) = spiritual delight, ecstasy
(term associated primarily with inner state)

A - also: kaif = delight
less standard term, practically synonymous with kaifiyat
idiomatic use: kaifiyat (tārī) honā = to be overcome by delight, ecstasy

- hal = transported condition, ecstatic state
(term associated primarily with manifestation of state)
idiomatic use: hāl ānā = to be transported, get an ecstatic state
hāl khelnā = to act out an ecstatic state
(somewhat derogatory)

kaifiyat + hāl are complementary terms covering the aroused state continuum. Of the two, hāl is also used derogatorily, hence Sufis prefer kaifiyat

b) Particular States Stages

F - darje = degrees, stages (of kaifiyat, hāl)
idiomatic use: ālā darje kī kaifiyat = ecstasy of an elevated stage
halkī kaifiyat = "light" state of ecstasy
also: rūhānī taraqqī = spiritual advancement

hāl = state of ecstasy
kaifiyat = state of ecstasy
both terms used to denote particular state as well

A - mahav = entranced
A - wajd = rapture, ecstasy
F - bekhud = besides one's self
F - also: behoshī = unconscious state
F - beqābū = out of one's control
F - also: behāl = beyond any condition

A = of Arabic derivation
F = of Farsi derivation

by strong arousal, from being deeply moved to being overcome by emotion and transported by the intensity of feelings, yet still retaining consciousness (exemplified in Performance 1:397 ff).

The third stage may be called ecstatic, when the mystical arousal becomes so overwhelming that the conscious self is obliterated by the experience of mystical union (exemplified in Performance 2:447, 451 ff).

As for the listeners' outward responses, a basic assumption underlying regarding the Qawwali listening process that mystical emotion, though spiritual in nature, will express itself physically, and strong emotional arousal, being an inner movement, needs to find outward expression in physical movement. While different saintly lineages and teaching traditions vary in the extent to which they permit such outward expression, all recognize that, in the extreme state of ecstasy, complete restraint from physical movement is impossible.

Equally basic to the concept of the Qawwali occasion is the role of form as a framework indicating symbolically the individual's submission of his personal emotional experience to the spiritual interpretation of the Sufi system. Thus Sufism recognized two complementary modes of expressing mystical emotion in the assembly; they correspond to the two dimensions of the Sufi quest for union with God--one through the individual mystical experience and the other through the active link with the Sufi hierarchy of spiritual power. Accordingly, one comprises the expression of the Sufi's mystical state; the other the expression of his attachment to the spiritual hierarchy. The two modes also accord externally with the two conceptualizations in which these dimensions are manifested: the first makes reference to the individual's experience of mystical song as conceptualized in the mahfil-e-sama', the other to his presence in the saintly gathering as conceptualized in the darbār-e--auliyā. Both modes are subject to constraints. For obvious reasons intuitive self expression takes place within a wide range of individual variation, whereas activating the link with a Sufi divine is governed by formal rules.

Of the two expressive modes, intuitive responses of individual self expression are considered primary as expressions of mystical arousal and the definition of their limits given much importance. These expressions are sanctioned within the bounds of formal convention which, for the most, are not formally defined; rather they represent a mold for expressive behavior which the devotee internalizes through his exposure to the expressive responses of his Sheikh and other Sufis, and which are rendered meaningful through his spiritual training.

Thus it is in conjunction with his spiritual maturing process that the Sufi develops his language of stylized, yet personal expressive gestures. In accordance with this, the tenor of expressive behavior is established by the spiritually prominent, who have acquired the capacity for mystical experience. This applies specifically to the extent and frequency of the expressive response; all too conspicuous or unrestrained self-expression on the part of the uninitiated or spiritually less committed is frowned upon. A much-quoted precedent for this attitude was set by Nizamuddin Auliya and concerns once again his disciple, the poet Amir Khusrau: When Khusrau danced in ecstasy at his guide's assembly the saint restrained this free expression, for the disciple was still committed to worldly pursuits. On the other side, given the intuitional nature of the mystical experience, it is considered possible for spiritual benefice to accrue to a spiritually less advanced person who may then be overcome with emotion to the point of losing control over his movements. Here too it is ultimately up to the spiritual superior, be it the ecstatic person's own guide or the leader, to assess his state and guide him through it, be it by facilitating his expression or by restraining him (see Performance ex. 2).

Expressive Response

There is a range of expressive responses generally current and deemed appropriate in the assembly as indicative of the devotee's state of mystical arousal. Summarized on Table 20 (along with exemplifications), this repertoire in fact constitutes a language of gestural and sound expressions. Analogous to verbal language in its signifying fuction, its meaningful units are essentially signs. Structurally, they are limited in number and syntactic manipulability. Semantically, they are characterized by a low degree of specificity and a highly evocative content which is supported by their inherent indexical meanings. These meanings are rooted, and find reinforcement, in the genenral idiom of kinesic expression current in Indo-Muslim elite society and manifested both in the formal context of cultural and religious performance as well as in informal social interaction. Additionally, the repertoire of Sufi expressive responses embodies a set of signs transmitted and sanctioned by classical Sufi tradition, as the manifestations of spiritually more advanced stages. The use of the entire idiom

TABLE 20: CATEGORIES OF EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES

	Examples page:
a) Standard Manifestations of Aroused State - Specific to Sufism (in order of increasing intensity)	
- sudden, uncontrolled movement, twitching, jumping	454,456
- weeping (riqqat, giriā, ronā)	399f,419
- arms raised (both) (hāth uṭhānā)	453,454
- shout (chīkh, hūhā)	452,456
- stand up (khaṛā honā)	453,454
- dance (raqs)	447,453,454
- walk (no standard term, usually subsumed in raqs)	
- fall down, roll, toss about (loṭnā)	
(- die (wisāl))	
b) Standard Manifestations of Enthusiasm, Incipient Aroused - Common to Indo-Muslim Cultural Expression	
- move head (sideways, nod)	455,458
- sway (jhūmnā)	399,409,457
- tap rhythmically	399
- raise arm, hand (hāth batānā)	454,455
- verbal expression approval	411
- exclaim (āwāz nikālnā)	413,451
c) Manifestations Symbolizing Sufi Attitude - Specific to Sufism	
- bow head symbolizes respect, submission	397,454
- join hands symbolizes reverent attitude	397,413
- prostrate symbolizes deepest reverence	452
- hand on chest symbolizes image of Sheikh in heart	452
- rub face, touch eyes symbolizes taking in spiritual blessing	409

APPENDIX 20: EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES
According to Qawwali Participants (Sufis)

a) Manifestations of Strong Arousal
(in order of increasing intensity)

F - riqqat = state of being moved to tears, ecstatic weeping
riqqat tārī honā = to be overcome by ecstatic weeping
F also: giriā = weeping
H ronā = weeping, crying
F - sajdā = prostration (bowing head while kneeling, as in Muslim prayer)
H - chīkh = cry, shout
H also: hūhā = noise, cry
H - khaṛā honā = standing up
H - loṭnā = falling down and tossing, rolling about
A - raqs = ecstatic dance
A - wisāl = (final) union, death in ecstasy

b) Manifestations of Mild Arousal
(in order of increasing intensity)

H - jhūmnā = swaying
H - hāth batānā = gesturing with or raising arm, hand
H also: hāth uṭhānā = raising arm
H - āwāz nikālnā = exclaiming (in approval)
F - harkat = (involuntary movement, action)

A	of Arabic derivation
F	of Farsi derivation
H	of Hindi derivation

is flexible, but its frame of reference is always the continuum of spiritual arousal.

At the first stage of mild arousal, appreciation or expression of pleasure (kaif) occurs, often in response to a specific song portion, in the form of an upturned palm, an exclamation, even a verbal expression. The Sufi's state at this stage may express itself in a more generalized way through swaying or an arm pointing upward to indicate the awareness of the divine presence. Generally, the outward expression of this stage parallels responses in other performance occasions of Indo-Muslim culture, particularly the musha'ira ("poetic symposium", see Qureshi 1969:430 f). At the second stage, when mystical love is truly aroused, it expresses itself through tears (riqqat) and perhaps restlessness or even a shout, all signs of being overcome by strong emotion. Generally the surge of mystical delight (kaifiyat) will then subside, perhaps to arise again upon a further stimulation from the songs. However, occasionally the emotion is not to be overcome and culminates in complete ecstatic abandonment, the third stage of arousal. This condition is normally indicated by the devotee's rising to his feet in order to be able to move more freely. Once he moves on his feet, he is considered to be in the state of ecstatic dancing (raqs). Raqs, properly speaking, is a stylized form of dance in which the Sufi turns more or less on the spot by alternately raising his feet, while his right hand may point upward. But raqs may also include walking, or any rhythmic movement along with gesticulation and vocalization. In the case of extreme self-abandonment jumps, falls, rolling and shouting also occur.

A sequence of intensification is implied in this expressive framework, and indeed the general expectation always reaches to the next more intense emotional expression. At the same time, the occurrence of these expressions is governed entirely by the individual's inner reaction to the performance situation at any given moment. Thus they may indicate either an increase or a decrease of emotional arousal, as well as also a sudden surge of emotion breaking that continuity.

Formal Response

The second mode of responding to the Qawwali experience serves the expression of the Sufi's attachment to the spiritual hierarchy of Sufism, thus representing the structural dimension of the Sufi experience. As an essential component of the Sufi path, activating this link forms an integral part of the Sufi's emotional response in the assembly, at any stage of mystical arousal. Whatever the emotional state, however, the quality of this link remains constant and therefore finds a consistently formalized manifestation which stands in some contrast to the wide expressive range of the experiential dimension (i.e. expressing states). This outward expression reflects the essential characteristics of the Sufi's attachment to his spiritual superiors: submission.

Allegiance through submission, embodying the Sufi's striving toward God through a spiritual superior in the Sufi chain, is the primary quality of this structural dimension of mystical love and it is to be confirmed by outward expression wherever representatives of spiritual superiors are present. In the assembly, these include descendants of saints, foremost among them the leader who represents the patron-saint of the assembly, but also a personal spiritual guide or even the very threshold of the saint's tomb, locus of his resting place. A much-quoted incident from the life of the saint Nizamuddin Auliya exemplifies the importance of outward deference to anything symbolizing the spiritual superior in the assembly: The saint, attending his own Qawwali assembly, suddendly rose in respect, motivated not by inspiring mystical song, but by the sight of a dog outside that resembled the annimal he used to see by the house of his own spiritual gude. Implied in the Sufi's activating his spiritual bond with the saint or his own guide is also an active solicitation of the divine benefices that flow from God through the spiritual chain of Sufism. In its most intense form, however, submission becomes an expression of mystical love as an emotional force that sacrifices life and possessions to merge with the Beloved.

Whether serving more as a deliberate gesture of deference to the divine representatives present in the court of saints, or more as a spontaneous extension of emotional arousal directed toward the spiritual beloved, the external format of encountering the saint or "meeting the Sheikh" (sheikh se milnā) is constant and consists of making a formal offering (nazrānā). Table 21 summarizes the nazrānā with its components (along with exemplifications); in its standard from the devotee rises to approach the spiritual superior, bows down (with unbent legs) or kneels before him and extends on his open palms (right over left) an offering of money, usually a single note. This note is lightly picked up or touched by the recipient as a gesture of acceptance and placed on the floor before him. The donor may respond to the blessing of the Sheikh's touch by a gesture of moving his palms over his eyes. If he is a personal disciple, he may well kiss the hand or knee of his guide, or the ground

TABLE 21: LINK RESPONSE

		Examples page:
a) Formal Offering		
- standard presentation; bow to offer	offer and:	389, 393ff
- presentation expressing need for spiritual indicator	: offer jointly with senior person	452
- presentation expressing submission, respect	: "kiss" or touch feet (*qadambosī*)	426
- presentation expressing submission, devotion	: "prostrate" (*sajdā*)	404
- presentation expressing aroused mystical love	: embrace (*galā milnā*)	
b) Intensification		
- prostrate		451
- embrace		455, 456

APPENDIX 21: LINK RESPONSES
According to Qawwali Participants

a) Standard, Formal Manifestation

F - nazrānā = offering, token of submission, allegiance
A also: nazar

F - sadqā = propitiatory offering to avert evil from Sheikh/recipient

b) Intensified Manifestation

F - sajdā = prostration (bowing head while kneeling, as in Muslim prayer)

F - qadambosī = "kissing the feet" (touching feet with hand(s) and kissing it)

H - galā milnā = embracing

before him, as a gesture of ultimate devotion, or he may prolong the encounter by remaining in a prostrated position, indicating ultimate submission. When returning to his seat, extreme deference may further be shown by retreating backward so as not to show one's back to the saint.

It is important to note that this formal offering represents a generally accepted modde of formal social interaction with superiors based to some extent on Islamic precedents, but above all on the Indo-Islamic imperial court tradition (see above Ch. 5:91). The implication is principally that of deference which is indicated by bowing as well as by the presentation of a gift that serves a material token of submission, while also implying a request for beneficence. The offering gesture itself clearly indicates that the offerer puts himself in the position of supplicant, a "taker", whereas the spiritual superior, while recipient of a gift, is nevertheless himself the benefactor or "giver", as indicated by the gesture by which he accepts the offering.

In addition to this formalized meaning, the offering further represents the material manifestation of the Sufi's emotion of totally giving himself away to merge with the divine, by sacrificing all he has (*muhabbat kī qurbānī meṅ jān-o-māl denā*). Indeed, today's money offerings also symbolize what in the past is said to have been a spontaneous giving away of anything a Sufi had access to when overcome by mystical emotion, including the very clothes on his body.

Whatever the specific meaning of the offering, the general implication is that an offering is itself the means for linking up with a spiritual superior in the assembly--a means available only to those who have money. While this is not considered to be a rule by Sufis, it is nevertheless a general fact, superseded only in the event of an ecstatic experience during or following which even a penniless devotee may "meet the Sheikh." Then the rules of conduct too are relaxed, so that the lowliest ecstatic person, if he is so moved, may even embrace or kiss the highest spiritual personage present.

The recipient of the offering accepts it on behalf of the spiritual power he represents. Then, unless he occupies the highest spiritual status in the assembly, he too is required to present the offering to a spiritual superior, most likely the leader; thus articulating his own place in the spiritual hierarchy and thereby confirming the structural universe of the royal court of saints. Very rarely, even a leader may wish to express his personal devotion or submission to the divine power whose blessing he enjoys. This he does by making an offering of his own to any saint's representative who then will be obliged to present it back to him as the highest saintly representative (cf Performance 1).

No sequencing is implied in the offering response per se. The only point in the assembly where offerings are certain to be made is during the obligatory hymns, especially where they introduce the performance, for each such hymn reiterates in some way the foundation of the Sufi spiritual hierarchy, thus inviting every member to confirm his allegiance to it. For the rest, offerings generally follow, or are part of the expression of, emotional arousal. Even an ecstatic state normally comes to its conclusion by the devotee "meeting the Sheikh." Ultimately, the two responses are blendned together, complementing each other, for an upsurge of mystical emotion invariably draws the devotee to the saintly representative. Table 22 presents the total framework for the two

Table 22: FRAMEWORK OF RESPONSES AND SPIRITUAL STATE

INNER STATE	OUTWARD MANIFESTATION	
Stages of Arousal	Expressive Response	Formal Response
0 Neutral Stage	—	—
	Manifestations of Enthusiasm	
1. Enthusiasm	rhythmic + signaling tap nod move head raise arm sway verbal expr. exclaim	offering (+ prostration + kiss feet)
2. Deeply moved strong arousal	Manifestations of Aroused State movement, twitching weeping arms raised shouting prostration	offering (+prostration +kiss feet +embrace)
3. Ecstasy self obliterated	stand up walk, move about dance fall down, toss about ↓ die	embrace with or without offering offering follows ecstasy (+prostration +kiss feet +embrace)

APPENDIX 22: CONCEPTS OF SPIRITUAL STATES AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS

	general kaifiyat/hāl	particular hāl/kaifiyat
STATE	halkī kaifiyat ⟼ ālā darje kī kaifiyat - - - - - ← darje → - - - - - - -	⟶ - - - - - - - - - bekhud (behoshī) beqābū (behāl)
MANIFESTATION: a) expressive responses:	riqqat → chīkh → jhūmnā → hāth batana → sajdā āwaz nikālnā → harkat	khaṛā honā → raqs → wisāl lotnā
b) link responses:	nazrānā ↔ with sajdā, qadambosī	nazrānā sajdā qadambosī galā milnā

(Prototype responses underlined)

responses, along with Appendix 22. Of the two modes of responding to this emotion, the formal offering is clearly the more complex in its implication, for it involves interaction between all categories of participants, actually articulating their interrelation. Emotional self expression, on the other hand, is the response considered primary, as the immediate indicator of mystical arousal which provides the dynamic for the offering, and indeed for the entire proceedings.

In the absence of a sequential structure of audience responses, it is the function of the leader to control and mediate their often highly individualized and unpredictable occurrence. This function applies both to the channeling of emotional expression in the assembly as well as to the management of its structural dimension.

Emotional expression is monitored indirectly by a calm and composed attitude on the part of the leader. Thus, he does not allow his own feelings free reign, for he serves as a spiritual anchor for the feelings of everyone else. Overt action to this effect may include calming a devotee by placing his hand upon his back or head, during an offering encounter, or even by reciprocating an embrace. The leader's guidance becomes most crucial in the event a devotee is overcome with ecstasy. To begin with, it is the leader who gives recognition to the ecstatic state by rising in respect of the divine blessing it represents, whereupon everyone in the audience rises likewise. Throughout the duration of ecstasy, he monitors the devotee and ensures that the performer provides appropriate takrār repetitions. Finally, when he perceives the state subsiding he choses the right moment to sit down and thus to have the entire gathering return to a sitting position.

As for the structural dimension of Sufism expressed through the offering, the leader provides its ultimate legitimization by accepting all offerings on behalf of the highest spiritual authority whom he respresents in the assembly. Once accepted by him, however, their purpose of articulating a spiritual relationship is completed and they now become money to be given away, in keeping with the Islamic tradition of turning religious tributes into charity. In this particular situation the money serves to remunerate the performers for their service. The relationship thus articulated between Sufi audience and performers is paraphrased most appropriately through the following simile explaining sama' practise: The recipient of a precious gift brought to him by the donor's servant must reward the servant for bringing it, even though this reward has not relationship to the gift itself (Idris Khan 1973:5).

The leader thus has the additional function of rewarding the performers. Either at the end of their performance, or more often as every offering is acepted by the leader, one of the Qawwals--or an assistant of the leader--goes to receive the money. The standard gesture of turning over the money to the performer is the reverse of the offering: the leader drops the money into the extended palms of the performer, thus always maintaining the formal distinction between the giver and the taker. The taker raises the money to his eyes in a gesture of partaking of the blessing conferred on it, and returns, ideally by backing off, to place the money on the harmonium or next to the lead singer. The leader the, plays an essential part in managing the transformation of the offering from a token of spiritual deference into a payment for service.

The performer, finally, is expected to react to his audience in accordance with their spiritual needs and respond to the preferences of spiritually prominent persons. This implies that he has an understanding of the setting and participants of the particular occasion and is capable of selecting appropriate songs for his performance. In his delivery of each song he is expected to be sensitive to the listeners' responses and conform to one principal requirement: to repeat or amplify any effective part of a song. This becomes crucial when a devotee attains a state of ecstasy; then the singers are required to repeat incessantly and briskly the particular song part that inspired the state. This form of repetition is singled out by the special term takrār, and it is the one characteristic of Qawwali music understood and expected by every participant in a Qawwali occasion. Indeed, Sufis believe that this repetition is essential during ecstasy to sustain and bring the ecstatic state to completion; for if the salient song portion is discontinued prematurely, the ecstatic person may die. Of the frequently cited examples of great Sufis who died in ecstasy during a Qawwali assembly, the case of the saint Qutabuddin Bakhtiyar-e-Kaki, second in the spiritual lineage of the Chishti silsila (see Table 12: 101), serves best to illustrate how Qawwali functions in this extreme situation:

The following famous couplet by the Persian mystic Ahmad Jam inspired the saint to ecstasy:

kushtagān-e-khanjar-e-taslīm rā
har zamān az ghaib jān-e-dīgar ast

(For the victims of the dagger of submission
There is a new life every moment from the unseen)

As the Qawwals repeated every first line, the saint fell down as dead, but on every second line, he rose to life again. This alternation continued for many hours to several days, but the singing could not stop, until finally the Sufis present had the performers end on the first line to allow the saint to rest in final union with the Beloved.

D Social and Economic Dimensions

Social Dimension

An outline of the structure of the Qawwali occasion would not be complete without a special discussion of what collectively may be considered its social dimension. Being a gathering of individuals and groups who interact, the Qawwali occasion is also governed by the social norms operating in the larger society. This means that Indo-Muslim social organization and rules of social interaction are operative in the Qawwali assembly, albeit in conjunction with those of its religious function.

For Qawwali participants, this level of structure is understood as a matter of course, as their knowledge of it is implied in their social experience as members of Indo-Muslim society. To the extent that social structure is integrated and reflected in the religious structure of the Qawwali occasion, an analytical separation of the two is illuminating, but not essential to the explanation of the context dimension of Qawwali.

However, there are aspects of social structure which operate independently of the religious structure of Qawwali, and these require to be identified separately. Separately, because they are not included in what the Sufi identifies as the rules specific to Qawwali. Yet, the social dimension is operative and thus forms part of what constitutes the context of the Qawwali assembly.

Unlike the religious dimension, the social dimension of Qawwali is not conceptualized formally, and even informally notions pertaining to aspects of social structure are often not made explicit even on inquiring, especially where they are not congruent with the religious rtenets governing Qawwali. Data underlying this discussion, therefore, comes mainly from observation of Qawwali events, supplemented by explication from mainly those Qawwali participants willing to depart from the limits imposed by spiritual norms. It stands to reason that this would include performers and personable devotees more than spiritual guides, though, remarkably, some saintly representatives too were willing to respond to the investigator's perspective. What is presented here, then, is an outline of the social dimension as it governs the standard norm for the structure of the Qawwali occasion.

Taken together, the background discussion and the foregoing outline of the Qawwali as a religious occasion make apparent the basic congruence between norms of Indo-Muslim social structure and concepts of Sufi ideology. Quite naturally, this congruence is manifested in the concept and structure of the Qawwali occasion. The most prominent principle of social organization thus incorporated in the Qawwali occasion is that of hierarchical structuring. Hence, social status and wordly authority are recognized as legitimate indices of privilege which are ultimately derived from divine beneficence. This notion is reflected in the darbar-e-auliya concept of the royal court of saints. And it is clearly incorporated in the setting of the Qawwali occasion, where wordly status is recognized along with spiritual status, so that listeners with a high status are invariably seated and treated with deference, while low-status or service class listeners are relegated to insignificance, as long as they don't exhibit outstanding spiritual achievement. This notion is further reflected in the position accorded the performer as a hereditary professional who provides a personal service, albeit a religious one, so that his identity as a type of religious functionary is nevertheless subsumed within the traditional identity of the service professional which is characterized by dependence on a patron to the near exclusion of personal, social, or spiritual achievement. A performer is thus separated from the Sufi audience conceptually as well as spatially, and a performer, almost by definition, cannot also be a Sufi (but see note 5 for an exception).

It is in the process of interaction in the Qawwali performance where the social dimension sometimes operates independently of, or acts as a modifier to the spiritual dimension. Social status and relationships come into operation as soon as the performance process begins. For those of high status, this means expressing and validating their status; for those of low status it means activating or solidifying vital links of patronage wiith patrons. These social goals affect both modes of responding to the mystical experience: individual self-expression as well as the offering expressing attachment to the Sufi hierarchy.

Dealing first with the expressive response, it is clear that the manifestations of intense spiritual arousal (shown on Table 20) consist of behavioral responses deviating considerably from the accepted social norm for a gentleman. Beyond this, the expression of a state of ecstasy and self obliteration implies behavior not subject to any social control. From a social perspective, such expression puts the devotee on center stage, exposing him before a more or less heterogeneous audience. The socially prominent devotee, therefore, tends to avoid reaching a state in which he may indulge in any eccentric behavior contradictory with his social image. For the devotee who lacks social standing, on the other hand, reaching such a state gives him momentary prominence. Indeed, observation suggests that it is elderly devotees of lower status who are most likely seen dancing ecstatically, whereas high status listeners, including saintly representatives with high social and religious standing, very rarely "stand up" to go into ecstatic movement. True, in the case of a spiritual leader, this is primarily due to the restraint he imposes upon himself to exercise his leading role, but social considerations also operate wherever high status is involved. The fact is, that restraint and controlled behavior are characteristic of high status, so that even among Sufis or spiritual personages the frequent and expansive expression of strong arousal, especially ecstasy, is associated with lower status--just as are conspicuous items of characteristic Sufi clothing. Leading Sufis, then, validate their status with self control and a more subdued outward appearance generally.

There is yet another aspect to the social dimension of ecstatic self expression. While prominence is accorded to anyone reaching an ecstatic state, a low-status listener is likely to be reminded of his social place if his state continues too long--after all, he is keeping higher status listeners standing. And if his state culminates in embracing the leader --or any spiritually high person--, as is often the case, the leader may well signal a supporter to have him pulled away gently, sometimes even before he can take the liberty. The point is that the Sufi assembly may be a place where only spiritual values are pursued and social norms may, as a result, be superseded by spiritual ones, but the basic rules of interaction between juniors and seniors, or low and high, will not be contravened altogether--they after all constitute the very foundation of the Sufi assembly.

As for the formal offering response, its built-in social ingredient is the public give-away of money, a worldly asset. Besides its spiritual function, the offering also constitutes the social gesture par excellence expressing high status and a position of patronage. The fact that the money offered ultimately serves to pay for the service of the performer points directly to this socio-economic implication of making an offering by marking it as an act of patronage toward a client. In the Qawwali assembly, therefore, it is the accepted social norm that listeners of high wordly status should be seen offering generously and in accord with their status, while failing to offer is considered to result in a loss of face. Specifically, these offerings serve to fulfil two social requirements for the "special" listeners: One is the obligation ("noblesse oblige") for them, as patrons, to share in the support of those who provide them with service, i.e. the singers. The other is the formal requirement for guests at the royal court--be it of king or saint--to present themselves at the beginning to the presiding personage, expressing their deference by a token offering (nazrānā in its secular meaning). In Qawwali this is indeed customary, so that during the first song there is often a rush of offerings (cf. Performance ex. 1:389 ff).[7] The operation of this social norm does highlight the importance of money as a material token of status. Indeed, the notion is prevalent--though in opposition to the spiritual norm of the Qawwali occasion--that status validation by means of offerings is an obligation regardless of spiritual experience. For devotees with social status, limited financial ability can actually operate to limit their attendance at Qawwali assemblies.

Finally, the offering provides by implication the opportunity to establish or activate a social link parallel to the spiritual one that is explicitly being sought. This aspect of the social dimension is particularly relevant to the low-status listeners seeking patronage; so that their limited offerings also serve the highlighting of their social as well as their spiritual dependence. Performers in particular, while not singing, often utilize this means of being "recognized" by the assembly leader or another spiritual patron.

Economic Dimension

To consider the economic dimension of the Qawwali occasion apart from the social and spiritual dimensions is necessary mainly in order to achieve a perspective on the part played in the assembly by those participants whose purpose in attending is neither spiritual nor social, but economic: the performers. There is general agreement among participants that a performer sings for money and will operate not only at the spiritual but also at the material plane of making a living, so that spiritual requirements may be superseded by material needs. Sufis accept this to an extent--"that's the Qawwal's nature, pulling money out of people" (paise luṛaknā), but they consider control essential to keep the spiritual priority. This reflects the general attitude of participants regarding the economic dimension of the Qawwali context: that dimension is recognized, accepted by implication but kept in check by allowing only an exclusively spiritual conception to operate at the explicit level.

In purely economic terms the Qawwali occasion is a setting for the Qawwali performer to provide his services in return for a monetary reward from the audience. Three aspects characterize this process and set it apart from that operating in other types of performance occasions: First, the performer depends entirely on the whim of his listeners whether he will be rewarded and with how much, so that it is hardly surprising that he can only explain an economic windfall (or its absence) in terms of "divine blessing" (karam). A lack of consistency in reward is not unique to Qawwali performers; other Indian musicians and performers generally experience it too, but not to the extreme extent that results from the fact that spiritual emotion motivates the donation, rather than the donor's desire to reward the performer.

This points to the second and more unique economic aspect of Qawwali: the fact that the money is offered purely as spiritual--and social--currency, so to speak, and in a sense becomes a thing of material value only once the non-material transaction is completed. For the Qawwal, then, there is no way that he can pursue his economic goal of performing for money directly, by simply eliciting his material reward directly from the listeners. He is expected to do so indirectly, creating the conditions for arousal so that its effect may motivate the Sufi to activate his link with the hierarchy by means of an offering--provided the Sufi actually has money to offer.

This in turn leads to the third aspect characterizing the performer's economic pursuit: the fact that the performer's success in creating favourable spiritual conditions hinges primarily on his conforming to standards and requirements of those with spiritual authority, not just on his appealing to wealthy listeners directly. Most of all this is manifested in the absolute authority of the leader over the assembly, expressed in the fact that the leader exercises de facto control over the offering transaction; after all, the performer gets his reward only by the leader's leave. Indeed, in past times assembly leaders actually retained the offerings and rewarded the performers at their discretion--an expression of a more solid feudal tie between them. But even today, the leader retains his economic position of power as a redistributive agent.

As for the donor, the spiritual meaning of the offering makes it equally legitimate for him to offer much or nothing, although social motivations for offering do operate to an extent, as discussed above.

This concludes the outline of the Qwalli occasion in all its salient features and thus the excursus into a consideration of the Qawwali context of performance. Having dealt with this context in the abstract results in a model of a clearly conceptualized structure expressed in terms of a well-defined setting and procedure, all informed in a logical way by the ideology and the socio-economic background of Sufism. Just like the model for Qawwali music, this context model also incorporates a wide range of variables and options which all form part of the Qawwali occasion in the abstract. But it can be actualized only in the particular, i.e. the actual performance event--which is the same as saying that structure becomes operationalized as process. In that respect, the structure of the context is no different than the structure of the music. Yet they do differ substantively in that the contextual dimension of the Qawwali assembly also contains the motivational dynamic for making a Qawwali event happen, including the music; in other words, this motivational dynamic is ideological, social or economic; it is not musical.

What is needed in order to demonstrate this dynamic in action is to introduce the actor, to show how the participants interact in actual Qawwali events to actualize the contextual structure and thereby cause the musical structure to be actualized. How this shift from structure to process can be made, and what analytical tools are required for the endeavour, will constitute the analysis proper of this thesis, to be undertaken in the section to follow.

SECTION III: THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

CHAPTER 8: ANALYTICAL VANTAGE POINT

A Introduction

The final section of the analysis turns the focus back to the music, only this time it is music considered not in the abstract--as analysed in Section I--but performed in the context of the Qawwali assembly--as outlined in Section II. With both musical and contextual structures accessible to analysis, it is now possible to proceed to investigate how this musical idiom is actually used in its performance context, i.e. how music and context interface in the process of performance. It is this investigation of the impact of the context upon the music which will utlimately enable the analyst to produce a more detailed set of music rules: one that should account for the generation of variation in songs and sequences of songs within a Qawwali occasion.

Because there is really no established precedent or prototype for analysing a performance process, I consider it necessary at the outset to clarify what approach and procedure will be used in this analysis. While the theoretical foundation for the analysis has already been laid down in Chapter 1, the task is now to generate a workable procedure for its realization in practice.

There are two problematic aspects facing any analyst of a performance process: One is the problem of having to deal with an interaction between two domains which are totally different from each other qualitatively and each consist of a divergent range of variables. The second, more fundamental problem, is having to analyse process, an ongoing dynamic, by means of a procedure--conventional analysis--which operates by segmenting its object, so that the dynamic linking the pieces, the very crux of process, tends to be left out of an analysis which by its nature tends to turn process into structure.

I propose to deal with the first problem at two levels: Diversity within either domain can be organized by setting out each domain as a structure to serve as referential grids for individual variables as they occur in the performance process. These structures--of Qawwali music and context--are already available for such reference as presented in Sections I and II. As for dealing with the qualitative difference between musical and contextual variables in the analysis of an interaction between the two, this problem can only be solved if the dynamic link operating between them can be perceived as common denominator which can act to generate some for of equivalence between musical and contextual variables. It will be the major task of this process analysis to identify the several such common denominators operating in the Qawwali performance process and to investigate the important equivalences that in fact exist on their basis between features of music and context.

It is in the same direction that the second problem, analysing process in terms of structure, may find a possible solution. For if the common denominators are in fact dynamic links, that dynamic must be identifiable as a channel or referent along which a context variable can cause the occurrence of a corresponding music variable. It will be by means of these denominators or referents, finally, that context variables can be plugged into the music, and context constraints can thus become part of a musical grammar.

But this is only half the answer to the problem; for it sets up a model for the mechanics of the interaction process without accounting for the motivation that leads to specific choices made by using this mechanic. It is here that the human actor must be brought on the scene. Not that he has been excluded from the ethnographic perspective, but most analysts--particularly those dealing with musical sound--tend to leave him out of their models. A Qawwali performance, however, is so manifestly shaped by the participants, even at the level of its religious function, that the real question is not whether, but which, participant should become the focus of the analysis. It is this question that provides the starting point for dealing with the Qawwali performance process.

This process basically consists of the decisions and actions of the participants, musician and audience, which together constitute the performance interaction. The common basis for this interaction is their shared conception of what a Qawwali occasion is--the standard model as outlined in the preceding section. At the same time, the strategies that motivate their respective decisions and actions differ, most fundamentally so between performers and listeners. What accounts for these differences is the particular vantage point from which each participant contributes to the realization of that shared conception during an actual performance event. Consequently, to analyse the process of a Qawwali event in its totality would, logically speaking, require the consideration of all participant's strategies put together, as informed by their respective vantage points. As stated at the outset (Ch. I:25) such an analysis is not intended here. The goal of this investigation is an relevant inasmuch it contributes to that analysis, i.e. inasmuch as it affects the music. Therefore, the interaction process to be analysed is that between context and music, not the interaction between participants per se. Since only the performer knows and makes the music, such an analysis can only be built on him. Indeed, for the purpose of analysing any performance event involving a performance medium, the key participant is the performer who knows and uses the medium of performance. All other participants and their actions, i.e. the entire interaction process, are relevant to this analysis only in terms of the performer's perception, because it is he alone who is responsible for the actualization of the music.

Focussing the performance process analysis on the musican does not mean to imply that the musician therefore has a dominant position among participants, quite the contrary: the discussion of the Qawwali occasion's every aspect--concept, setting and procedure--makes it amply clear that the performer is accorded the least possible significance, considering his indispensible role. In fact, it appears that he and his actions are controlled by the audience. But that control is variable, i.e. the performer is not structurally constrained by it (like e.g. certain musical features are by textual features) and therefore his actions cannot be predicted on the basis of audience actions. Herein lies his position as an originator of strategy, for his actions, despite his marginality--socially and professionally--are nevertheless the result of his own decisions, even though these may arise from a vantage point of weakness and dependence.

In order to understand the performer's vantage point and the strategies this vantage point generates, it is necessary to consider his position within the performance occasion, especially as it relates to other participants. This position can of course only be understood in reference to his general situation, of which it is a particular manifestation. As a first step, therefore, it is necessary to refer back to the discussion on the performer's identity, both as a member of the shrine community and as a hereditary professional within the larger society. In the light of this background it can then be assessed what the Qawwali performance means to the performer, i.e. what constitutes his vantage point in it. This will be set forth below, as part of the analytical vantage point for this Section.

Once the performer is established as the hub of the context-music interaction, it follows logically to proceed to the analysis of the interaction itself by introducing the musician into the analytical scheme. Focussing on the two domains from the perspective of the musician, their interaction can now be redefined as follows: The performer, using his knowledge of the Qawwali performance idiom and the Qawwali occasion of performance takes cues from the occasion to select the musical variables for his performance. In doing so he fulfils the spiritual function of Qawwali music in the assembly while at the same time maximizing his own socio-economic position. His particular choices he makes on the basis of strategic principles that reflect both ideological and socio-economic commitments. Those principles serve as referents between contextual and musical variables, essentially assigning--by referential association--ideological and social meaning to features of the musicial idiom. On the basis of this referential association, the performer can in turn convey non-musical meaning to the audience through his musical choices. Thus musical variables can also serve to convey non-musical meaning to the audience, thereby affecting their response. Either way, the principles acting as semantic referents between context and music are crucial as the tools of the performer's strategy.

The logical way of proceeding with this analysis would be to start with the identification of these criteria by which the performer relates context to music and then to analyse how he uses them, following the systematic expose with an ethnographic illustration. However, while this sequence is logically appropriate, it has the reader going into an analytical excursus based on novee principles whose derivation will be less than clear, simply because that derivation itself stems from a novel perspective on performance, i.e. to view music and context simultaneously and from a single standpoint, that of the performer. This perspective and its logic are crucial to the entire process analysis. I therefore consider it imperative to preface the analysis proper with an ethnographic presentation of this perspective, in the form of a schematized outline of a Qawwali performance as experienced by a Qawwali performer as he perceives the context and structures the music.

The second chapter in this section (Ch. 9), accordingly, contains an ethnographic outline of a Qawwali performance in the abstract. It is structured to follow logically after the first chapter setting up the performer's vantage point; together the two chapters give the reader the ethnographic basis, i.e. the range and relationships of concrete options, musical and contextual, which are then abstracted in the analysis chapter that follows (Ch. 10).

This final chapter, the analysis itself, in a sense parallels the outline of a performance but in the process replaces concrete options and relationships by abstract principles of meaning (semantic referents) capable of generating those options and relationships under given conditions. It is at this abstract level that it then becomes possible to formulate the rules for the contextual input into the musical programming. The entire analysis section concludes by suggesting how such a formulation could be incorporated into the musical rule system, without however going to the extent of constructing a formal context-sensitive grammar.

Throughout this section, tables dealing with features of the context-music relationship are of particular importance, because a table permits isolating such features as well as the relationship between them. In the analysis chapter particularly, tables serve the purpose of making the analytical model more portable by simplifying each step in the argument to its essentials.

The source material for this section deserves special comment: The material for the entire section is derived from two complementary sources: talks with performers and recorded observation of performances. In an overall sense, this presentation, no less than the sections on musical and contextual structure, draws heavily from notions learned--directly or indirectly--from performers; but these notions may well be incomplete. It must be understood that the vital domain of the performer's strategies is not easily accessible to an outsider, and for good reasons. If the outsider is a listener and therefore a potential patron--as any foreigner, no matter how modestly endowed, will be classed--then the performer's stance toward him obviously precludes divulging strategies not congruent with the conception of Qawwali as spiritual in nature. If, on the other hand, the outsider is a performer and therefore a potential competitor--as even a foreign musician could be expected to be--then he is not likely to be let in on anything that may be considered secrets of the trade. In this respect only, being a woman and therefore a misfit vis-a-vis these all-male categories was probably a help in setting me, as investigator, apart professionally while enabling me to establish a family relationship at the personal level (a male investigator would not have access into families due to women's seclusion). At any rate, I consider my informants' sharing of performance strategies as a special gift. And the trust on which this information in particular is based, imposes a responsibility which immediate rewards can only partially compensate for. I have tried to treat it with respect, attempting especially to avoid the bias of contempt evinced not only by upper-class listeners but--by their own implication--even by performers themselves.

B Performer's Vantage Point

To set the stage for the performer-centered analysis of the Qawwali musical process, the performer's vantage point will now be outlined in very specific terms, drawing upon the larger social and professional frame of reference which broadly limit his sphere of operation. The purpose is to provide the reader with a sense of the performer's rationale as it arises from the opportunities and constraints that define his position in the Qawwali occasion.

The most basic aspect of the performer's vantage point is his own position in the assembly, including his access to it as a performing opportunity. Here the overriding reality is the performer's dependence on the personal control exercised by the spiritual leader who convenes the assembly, both over access and process of the performance. By definition, the performer stands in the position of a client dependent on patronage, whether it is a permanent personal patron-client tie with a saint's representative of his home shrine (i.e. the permanent attachment to a patron, see Performance 1:), or the temporary patronage sought or obtained from the leader of a particular Qawwali assembly (see Performance 2). An important exception to this is the hereditary right that performers attached to a shrine have to ritual performance occasions (at their own shrine, see below pp. 306 ff); but since these rights are held communally by the performing lineage (bra̅drī), their benefit for the individual performer is limited.

As for the performance process itslef, it is in all cases subject to the supreme control of the spiritual leader. Even where the performer has a hereditary right of access, the leader can have him time and structure the performance according to his wishes. And where he controls the performer's very access--as he does in almost all situations--everything the performer does, including his very act of performing, can be liable to the leader's guidance, correction or censure.

The implications of this control for the performer are particularly crucial, due to the fact that in most assemblies he is only one of several performers, any of whom may easily replace him. This pits him against his colleagues--or lineage brothers--in direct competition. The individual performer's position vis a vis the context of performance is in fact precarious, unlike that of the listener who has absolutely free access, so that this most basic aspect of his vantage point is characterized by utter dependence on the patronage and approval of the leader. It may be relevant here to point out again that the performer has neither an ideological nor a socio-economic base to secure his position in the assembly. In ideological terms the performer is only a medium with no spiritual merit or authority, even though some Qawwals try to claim spiritual status inherited from, or assigned by a Sufi authority. Such claims are quite categorically denied by Sufis. In worldly terms, the performer has traditionally been identified with a low social class without assets, "a despised lot" (even though exceptionally a nawāb's young son may please himself by performing Qawwali).

Given the utterly dependent position of the performer in the performance occasion, it follows that his need for securing the approval of those controlling the assembly is of paramount importance, if he is to be successful. For this reason, his view of the Qawwali assembly as a performance context and of his goal within it constitute the most crucial aspects of the performer's vantage point.

Performance Goal

What is the Qawwali performance to the performer? Basically, the performer shares in the commonly held conception of the Qawwali occasion as outlined in Chapter 7 A-C. As a participant he is committed to contributing toward a successful realization of this conception. For him, as the performer, this means singing Qawwali songs in accordance with the spiritual needs of his audience. His explicit goal is to evoke spiritual enhancement among the listeners, leading to mystical arousal and even ecstasy. The Qawwal is fully aware of the crucial part he plays in the proceedings and he takes very seriously the responsibility it entails toward his listeners. Time and again performers relate how the high point in their career came at the time when a great Sufi or leader went into deep ecstasy during their performance. At such a time the performer, too, shares in the gift of divine beneficence manifested in the ecstatic state, valuing it above anything material. However, the performer knows his place as nothing but a mouthpiece and consistently denies having any personal share in the impact generated by his performance.

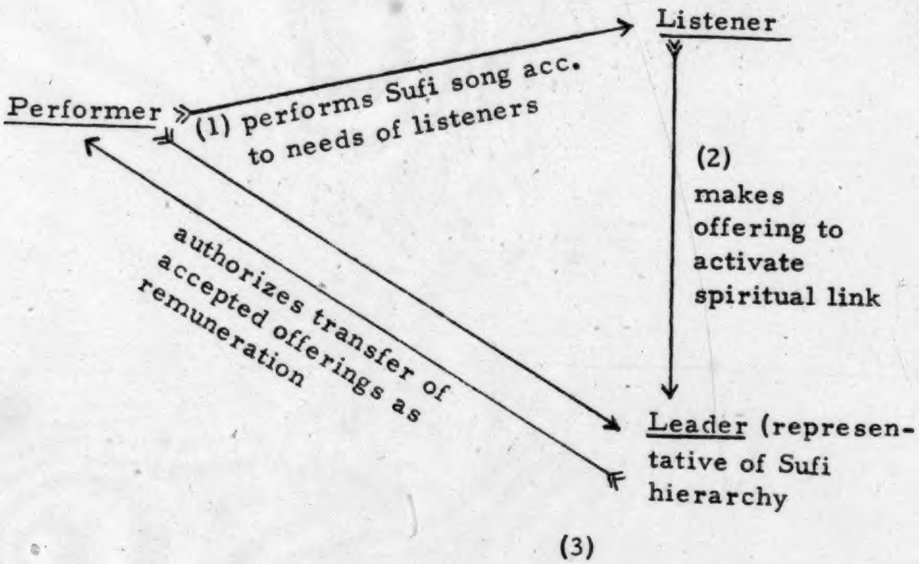
At the same time the Qawwali occasion is to the performer also the context for earning a living, as outlined in Chapter 7 D. The peculiar situation for the Qawwal--as compared with other Indian musicians or with concert performers generally--is the fact that his remuneration does not come to im as a direct reward for a good performance. Rather, it is the indirect material result of what is essentially a non-material transaction: the symbolic expression of the spiritual link between a Sufi and his spiritual superior--a transaction not involving the performer at all. While the offerings are of course linked to the performance inasmuch as they are generally made in response to the impact of the music, they are only incidentally a reward for the performer, just as the performer is only incidentally a contributor to the impact of the music. The entire complex of the offering--pay conversion in its relation to the performer's imput into the performance is schematized in Table 23 in such a way as to show its relevance to the performer.

From all this it becomes obvious that, while the implicit goal of earning money from the audience is a primary concern for the performer in the Qawwali assembly, this goal itself can be achieved only in conjunction with, or through the explicit goal of evoking spiritual benefices for this audience. Accordingly, the performer orients himself first of all to the spiritual dimension of the performance, playing his part in the realization of a Qawwali occasion in accordance with the standards set and shared by all the participants. Within the standard conception of the Sufi assembly, this spiritual orientation requires him to consider the factors of setting and procedure (as discussed in Ch. 7 B and C) in relation to his performing task, which is first and foremost to serve the spiritual needs of his audience. The performer knows that it is part of his task to understand these needs, indeed this is implied in his position as a service professional. For this purpose, the strategic onus is entirely on him and he is quite free to exercise it. The fact that performers invariably use this freedom to attempt as close a compliance with their audience's wishes as possible--rather than to "express themselves" or innovate--is an obvious manifestation of their dependent position vis a vis this audience and indeed can be understood only in relation to this reality.

Perspective on Context

From the performer's vantage point the occasion in its spiritual

TABLE 23: PERFORMER'S EARNING PROCESS


Listener
Performer
(1) performs Sufi song acc. to needs of listeners
(2) makes offering to activate spiritual link
authorizes transfer of accepted offerings as remuneration
Leader (representative of Sufi hierarchy
(3)

dimension is defined by two basic factors: spiritual leadership and thematic focus. Of these, spiritual leadership is primary, for it may determine the thematic focus as well. The thematic focus suggests the basic framework for the performance. It is derived most obviously from setting factors such as the occasion (e.g. a saint's anniversary) or the place (e.g. a saint's tomb), but may also be determined by the spiritual leadership of the occasion. Indeed, even when the setting suggests a definite thematic focus, its manifestation is dependent on the spiritual leadership for the way the thematic focus is realized. Performers, therefore, consider spiritual leadership as the primary factor in their view of the Qawwali occasion, for they are fully aware of the hierarchical structure of Sufism. Most important is the leader, whose controlling position allows him to determine the character of the assembly by his mere presence, reinforced by his personal following in the audience. This means that, to play his part in the spiritual pursuit of the Qawwali occasion, the performer first of all orients himself to the spiritual leader, even in respect to realizing an established thematic focus.

As for the performer's implicit goal, i.e. the material perspective, it forms an integral part of his vantage point, without introducing a substantive contradiction to the spiritual dimension. For the basic acceptance of the worldly status hierarchy as a God-given social ordering makes possible the acceptance of this dimension of worldly status in the context of the hierarchical setting of the royal court of saints (darbār-e-auliyā). Thus worldly status is seen to play the role of confirming spiritual status through deference expressed in offerings, which, at the same time, serve to validate the status of the donor. The performer, by virtue of being the client providing service to this alliance of spiritual and worldly status, considers himself the natural beneficiary of these offerings.

From a material perspective,then, the performer sees the Qawwali occasion in terms of two major factors: the audience composition with its offering potential, and the authority structure that controls his access to these offerings (i.e. the leader). In an overall sense, taking both spiritual and material perspectives together, the Qawwali performer pursues a dual goal in the assembly in both of which the leader, as the controlling figure, holds equal prominence. His major effort is therefore directed to the leader and any other spiritual notables closely allied with him. For their state and responses are known to affect their spiritual dependents which, in fact, constitutes the entire audience, resulting in both spiritual benefice and material rewards for the performer. How the leader and spiritual notables react to, and assess, the event and the performance input is crucial to the performer in a more direct way, since generally they control access to performing opportunities. In practical terms, this means that the performer's prime strategy is to assess setting, audience and procedure with reference to the leader. On the side of the implicit material goal, giving priority to the high-status component in the audience also conforms with the concept of spiritual control by the leader, enhanced by support from prosperous or powerful devotees.

However, should the performer disregard this spiritual control by catering to a rich devotee over the need of a materially less rewarding spiritual notable, there is potential for conflict and censure (see Performance 2:447, 451). On the other side, the performer knows that he can safely encourage offerings musically by utilizing the thematic focus of the occasion, even though this may be criticized as "money pulling". What is most essential about the Qawwali performer's position vis-a-vis the performing occasion is the fact that, no matter how harsh the economic reality, or how purely financial his interest, the performer can pursue this material goal only by implication, so-to-speak, and his financial success ultimately derives from "scoring" at the spiritual level. This is not to deny the genuine importance spiritual success holds for many a performer, but his overall vantage point must invariably include the explicit mystical as well as the implicit financial dimension. Indeed, it is in these very terms that the Qawwal defines himself: "I am a complete Qawwal....looking equally to spiritual benefice and to money" (Meraj M3:35).

Perspective on Performance Medium

The stage has been set for the performer to enter and assess the occasion of performance on the basis of his own position within it and in accordance with his goal as a performer of Qawwali music. What remains is to consider the musical idiom as the strategic medium by which he pursues this goal.

In broad terms, musical content and style of the performance idiom of Qawwali are defined by the consensus of participants' expectations as outlined in Chapter 7, and as such they correspond to the outline of music and text as presented in Chapters 3 and 5 B. The performer abides by this standard of expectation; indeed, doing so is a prerequisite for an acceptable performance. At the same time, the nature of the performance occasion not only gives the performer choices to make, it requires them of necessity. In fact, the musical idiom of itself reflects this dual requirement of conformity on one side and flexibility on the other. In terms simplified from the music outline this idiom consists of an established repertoire of songs (text and music) along with techniques and ingredients to manipulate, modify or amplify this repertoire. However, there are limits of conformity--set by the listener's expectations--within which the performer can exercise his musical options strategically. They leave two broad, principal areas of choice: one concerns the choice of the song, both as to textual and musical content and as to its stylistic presentation: the other area comprises the totality of options governing the internal structuring of the song in performance. Competent control of both areas is required of the performer who wishes to pursue his goal successfully. This means that he should have at his instant command a memorized store of texts and tunes covering the stylistic range that will enable him to choose the song appropriately. Further, he should control the range of internal structuring devices, both textual and musical, in order to shape the song once it is chosen. Finally, he should have a well and worked-out ensemble so that his choices are conveyed successfully in performance. This requires above all strong leadership on his part, and instant compliance on that of his accompanists.

The outline of the performer's vantage point is now complete, having covered the performer's own position in the performance occasion, defined his goal in performance, outlined the resulting perspective vis a vis the performance context, and finally, having dealt with the performance idiom as his strategic medium. The next step is to consider the way all this is actualized in the process of performance.

CHAPTER 9

THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS - OUTLINE

In this ethnographically oriented portion of the performance analysis section the aim is to consider the performer's strategies through the course of a performance, as shaped by his vantage point, and to examine the musical result. This can best be done in the form of an outline of the performance process in the abstract, by taking the performer through an entire performance and showing how contextual variables serve him as cues for his musical options at every stage of putting together a Qawwali performance. Because it is difficult to retain a sense of the interactional dynamic while discussing these various options and their potential consequences, it is important to indicate that, no matter what is chosen at the level of either context or music, the performance continues in terms of two ongoing processes--one musical, one contextual--which go on interacting with each other, i.e. the musician continues to sing and the ongoing contextual responses continue to inform his perception. A sense of this polarized dynamic is best conveyed in the form of a table (see Table 26), here representing an exerpt of the abstracted Qawwali performance. A more extensive representation in the same format forms part of the Ethnographic Section (see pp. 451-461) to which reference will be made wherever applicable.

As mentioned, the performer shares with other participants a notion of the general structure of the Qawwali occasion as outlined in Chapter 7, and the categories of setting and procedure (see Tables 16 and 18, pp.

154 and 161) are entirely relevant to his general view of the Qawwali occasion. In following this general conception of the Qawwali performance context, the performer's strategies will be considered in reference to the two dimensions of the occasion structure: setting--comprising contextual categories established prior to the actual performance--, and procedure--including factors that form part of the performance sequence itself, most particularly audience responses. At the same time, his vantage point imposes particular priorities on his view of these categories, so that logically an outline of performer strategies must be structured in accordance with those priorities. As set out in the previous section, spiritual leadership, embodied mainly in the leader, occupies the foremost position among priorities, both from the spiritual and material perspective. Thematic focus is a further spiritual priority, while the high status component of the audience is of greatest importance in its material implication. The entire perspective is outlined on Table 24.

A Setting Assessment

A discussion of a performer's strategic use of setting factors must be prefaced by the general point that the Qawwal, like any performer, aims his strategies at his audience, so that his prime concern is for all categories of listeners. Among them, the leader obviously occupies a special position, hence he will be given greatest prominence here, as indeed is done by performers in their assessment of performance occasions. The remaining audience is then evaluated as to its status components and considered both in reference to the sponsor and to other

TABLE 24: SETTING AFFECTING CHOICE OF PERFORMANCE MEDIUM

SETTING	affecting	
A. STRUCTURAL FACTORS	TEXT (intro. verse + song text)	MUSIC (prelude + entire song)
1. Sponsor/spiritual leadership	as to:	
a) spiritual identity	theme	tune
b) personal identity	language/style	tune/rhythm/presentation
2. Audience		
a) social status	language/style	tune/rhythm/presentation
3. Occasion/Place	theme	tune
4. Performing Conditions	theme	duration, leadership
B. SITUATIONAL FACTORS		
1. Audience		
a) composition b) state	(modify above) ± intro. verse theme	(modify above) ± prelude tune
2. Preceding Song	language/theme	

relevant setting factors. The last remaining category of participants, i.e. the performer himself, is also part of his assessment of a performance occasion; here he considers mainly the performing conditions under which he is to operate, but also where he stands vis-a-vis other performers participating in the same performance event. As for circumstantial factors of setting such as occasion, place, time, locale and duration, they are of direct importance to the performer only to the extent they contribute in defining the thematic focus for the performance. For the rest, such factors may be significant to him indirectly, as constraints on the audience composition.

Dealing with the setting now in terms of an actual performance, there are two levels for the performer to consider. At the primary level are the predetermined factors that make up the general setting and characterize the event as a whole, factors for the most set beforehand. The secondary level comprises factors particular to the immediate situation the performer faces when starting his performance; these usually amplify, but can also contradict, the primary setting constellation.

The prime relevance of setting factors relates to the performer's initial choices regarding music and text as well as their presentation. In addition, the initial assessment of these factors continues to inform the strategies he uses throughout the actual performance procedure. The performance process, then, begins with the performer's assessment of primary setting factors, most of it carried out even prior to the performance event.

Audience

To begin with, the performer focusses on the leader, by assessing him primarily in spiritual terms, but considering also their material implication. In order to cater to the leader spiritually, the performer must above all know the spiritual status and identity of the leader--which saintly lineage he belongs to, and whether he is a saint's familial descendant or even his recognized representative, or whether he is a recognized spiritual guide of some standing. As it is, in most cases the performer is conversant with this information as a function of his attachment to a leader who is also his patron (see Ch. 5 D). In case the leader is a rich patron sponsoring the event who lacks spiritual status himself, the spiritual superior to whom the leader is linked becomes the spiritual focus for the Qawwal. The same holds where the assembly of a leader with lesser spiritual status is enhanced by the presence of a superior spiritual figure, usually a representative of a senior saint (cf. H in Performance 1:377).

This general knowledge of the leader's identity is pertinent for the performer's decision regarding his choice of appropriate song topics. Thus he knows that for a saint's representative songs establishing a link with the patron saint are a first and safe choice. This link (nisbat) may be thematic, in the form of praise or supplication, it may also reside in a song's ritual association with the saint or his shrine (Torī Sūrat in Performance 1:418), or in the poet's identity as a disciple or saint of the lineage. For a spiritual leader of a circle of disciples, songs evoking mystical experience (cf. Performance 2) or expounding on the devotional nature of the link between disciple and leader are most appropriate.

In addition to his spiritual identity, the personal status identity of the leader forms an important part of the performer's prior assessment of a Qawwali occasion. This relates principally to the degree of sophistication or popularity a leader wishes to project in his assembly. The performer uses this knowledge to delineate his area of options supplementary to variables expressing spiritual identity. They comprise language and style of the song text, tune and rhythmic framework of the music, as well as their style of performance. To express sophistication, Farsi is superior, followed by classical Hindi, preferably in the form of a sophisticated poetic text. At the Shrine of Ajmer a performing group was recently evicted from an 'urs assembly for singing in Urdu, by a newly invested shrine representative asserting his status over his predecessor. Musically, a raga-like or old tune is appropriate for this purpose, especially when enhanced by a complex or "difficult" musical meter or at least a seriously slow rhythmic pattern. A sophisticated presentation, finally, is best kept subdued and limited to a few stylized gestures. If on the other hand, sophistication is no great bar to popular appeal, the performer will keep to songs with a generally understood language--Urdu or standard devotional Hindi--and with a more contemporary style. Musically, he will prefer to choose from song tunes with popular appeal and follow an easy, smartly moving rhythmic framework. As for presentation, he will feel more free to impress the audience with "acting" out the song, using various demonstrative gestures. Since the majority of leaders today prefer a composite image, projecting both sophistication and popularity, (due to the patronage situation, see Ch. 5 C), the performer's safest strategy is to plan on staying on a middle ground and let the immediate performance situation influence his final decision on the spot. Finally, a leader's individual preferences may be known to a performer, especially if he is linked to him as a client and is therefore expected to cater to the personal wishes of his patron. In that case, the only decision he has to make is whether to comply, or to risk displeasing the patron by catering to other audience components.

As much as a performer gives priority, at this stage, to catering to the leader, he includes the audience in his preliminary assessment as well, at least as to its basic components. Basically, performers divide audiences into the same categories as do other participants of Qawwali, both as to the fundamental division into the "special" and "common" audience components (see Ch. 5, Appendix 15) and, within the special category, as to the distinction between those with spiritual and worldly status, i.e. the "saintly" (*fuqarā*, *darwesh*), and the "rich" (*ʿumarā*, *ra'usā*). Of the two, clearly the special category is of major importance and interest, since its members are the prime sources of both spiritual enhancement to the assembly in general, and of material benefit to the performers specifically. Certain general strategies are appropriate in relation to this category as a whole. In accordance with their status, the special audience can be counted on to understand and respond favourably to sophistication in content and form of the songs, as contained in texts from classical Sufi verse, songs with special spiritual association or with an old or special tune.

Since most Qawwali occasions are regularly occuring events, the performer is usually able to anticipate the presence of special individuals in the audience. Listeners with high spiritual status will be noted particularly as to their spiritual identity and treated musically much like the leader--indeed a representative of a senior saintly lineage or a major shrine establishment will be recognized in the performer's strategy in the same way, usually by the choice of a song with a fitting theme or association (cf. Masnavī in Performance 1:330). As for lesser spiritual leaders or representatives--lower class Sheiks or representatives of minor shrines--the performer usually does not plan to cater to them specifically, but he will anticipate giving priority to their preference, should they express it, in consideration of their spiritual identity.

Listeners with worldly status are of very special value to the performers, since normally they constitute the main source of offerings in a Qawwali event. Thus the performer anticipates catering to their preferences in a general way, by choosing from a repertoire of appropriate sophistication, in line with their assumed orientation to the spiritual leaders of the assembly or to its patron saint. Listeners outstanding in worldly endowment, or known to be very generous, may even be singled out for special consideration at the level of specific song choices (cf. song chosen for Performance 2:443). Such a situation can lead the performer to the point of superseding the preference of the spiritual leadership, as by the choice, e.g., of a song theme to suit a puritan devotee's orientation, or of a simplistic text to please an unlettered donor.

In contrast to the individual attention bestowed on special listeners, the common component of a Qawwali audience is assessed as a body of secondary importance that always comes, literally as well as figuratively, behind the special group. In the presence of important and rewarding special listeners a performer may well ignore the common audience altogether, especially if it is limited in size. Where a large crowd is known to gather, on the other hand, and more so where special listeners are scarce, the performer will plan to cater to popular taste in selecting well-known songs with a popular textual and musical appeal (e.g. ex. 7).

Fixed Setting Factors

Fixed setting factors are relevant to the performer's strategies in two ways, one directly affects the thematic focus of the event through occasion and place to the extent that these set up an associational link with a saint--be it through his anniversary (occasion) or his proximity (place). These require of the performer to express that link which the participants are expecting to have confirmed experientially. Thus he will be prepared to sing songs connected to the saint, be it through text topic or authtorship, or through ritual association. Among them are specific songs prescribed for the ritual portions of such assemblies (cf. Qaul and Rang in Performance 1:389, 392).

Relevant in a more indirect way are the setting factors that affect the audience components expected to be present in an assembly; these are locale and time of day. Both may enable the performer to anticipate the presence or absence of a common audience component. Since locale size determines audience capacity, it is clear that a small listening area, even in a public shrine, will accommodate few listeners beyond the leader's immediate circle which is normally composed of "special" listeners. A large public hall or shrine courtyard, on the other hand, is expected to attract a seizable common audience, in addition to the special circle of the leader. As for time of day, assemblies held during working hours are not easily accessible to those who need to earn a daily living; therefore the performer can only expect night performances to be frequented by large common audiences. Of course there is always the destitute component of any common audience, especially in assemblies held at shrines where beggars and mendicants abound. These, however, are hardly given any consideration, either by leaders or by performers. The performer, thus will take in account locale and time to assess the prominence of the common audience component and plan his choice of songs accordingly.

Own Performing Conditions

For the performer, the last, but by far not the least aspect of setting is that of his own performing conditions anticipated for a particular Qawwali occasion. The first factor significant to his strategies is whether he is performing as an individual leading his group (so-called "party singing"--*pārṭī kā gānā*, see Performance 1:397-442, Performance 2:443-461) or a member of his performing community ("mixed singing"--*panchāyatī gānā*, *mushtar kā gānā*, see below p. 259 and Performance 1:389-396). In the first case he controls the singing and also the earnings, so that all possible strategies are crucial directly to him and his group. In that situation he has the freedom to exercise his musical strategies and the confidence that his accompanists, in their own interest in a successful performance, will comply with his commands. In the second case, the control over both singing and earnings are shared and leadership is usually established on the spot between the leading singers of the group who decide on strategy as they go.

Only at events where a performer does both community and party singing the party leader, anticipating his own party's turn in the performance sequence, will plan to keep the communally sung ritual songs short in order to save for himself and his group both performance time and listeners' offering money, rather than to have more income distributed among the greater number of community members. If his "turn" (bārī) follows immediately after the communally performed ritual songs, he may even go so far as to avoid taking a lead position there, in order to preserve the impact of his singing for his own party's turn instead of wasting it when the reward for it will be dissipated to his entire brādī (cf. Performance ex. 1: 390 ff).

The second and even more important aspect of the Qawwal's performing conditions is his particular place within the course of the performance. Normally, this consists of one "turn" allotted to him by customary right or by the leader's personal decision. Given the fact that most Qawwali occasions involve a succession of performers with similar access rights, it is of importance to realize that a complete Qawwali performance consists of the sum total of different individual performances. Therefore, in specific musical terms, each performer's concern and strategic input is of necessity limited to his own "turn". While the leader has the ultimate control over performance turns, there is, at most shrines at least, a customary sequence of those performing groups in regular attendance over the years which is maintained from generation to generation, always under the name of the original head of the group, (see Ch. 5 C, Ethnographic Section A:309 f).Such turns occur usually at the beginning of the occasion. One would therefore expect the particular performers to be bound to the customary thematic sequence of praising God, Prophet and then saints and sheikhs. Performers, however, do not feel particularly bound by this rule, although they too pay lip service to it and respect it as a principle. Songs praising God are hardly ever heard at all, and often a performer with a first or second turn in the assembly will ignore the Prophet as well, or at most pay his respect to the tradition by singing an introductory verse in his praise.

Usually, it is part of the turn allocation for the performer to be informed whether he may sing one, two or three songs. Two is the usual norm, but if the limit is one song, he will try for as long a song as possible, or for one that can easily be extended with inserts.

B Situational Assessment

It has been necessary to dwell at length on the background setting of the Qawwali occasion in order to prepare the ground for an outline of the actual performance in sequence. In actual fact, a performer may be aware of all these structural setting factors and of their implications even before the performance begins, but still he is unlikely to take any final performance decision beforehand. The reason for this is his conviction, confirmed by experience, that nothing is ever certain, every situation is different and unpredictable, so that it can best be assessed on the spot when the entire constellation of factors is at its most appreceivable. Let us then follow a performer as he starts his turn and makes his way through a performance.

The lead performer with his group enters his assigned place in the assembly. With this he begins to consider and choose from the series of options open to him in order to make his music happen. First of all he immediately assesses his performing situation. While he is already informed, by his prior knowledge, of the structural aspects of the setting as discussed above, he now must, in addition, take into account the factors of a purely situational nature. These situational setting factors concern the "here and now" of the performing situation and may therefore have much bearing on his musical strategy, whether they confirm, modify, or contradict his view of the structural setting. Two such factors are relevant to the performer; both relate to the audience present at the time of his performance. One is the actual audience rcomposition, the other the state of receptiveness or focus among the listeners, including their explicit song preference, if any.

Taking note of the audience composition is of basic significance, since attendance at Qawwali occasions can be quite fluid, so that special listeners important to the performer--because of their spiritual or worldly status and offering potential--may not all be present at any one time (e.g. arriving late or leaving early), and outstanding individuals whom he was expecting to address particularly, in the hope of a good reward, may just then be absent, requiring him to change his strategy (cf. Performance 2:445). Basically, the performer's view of the listeners actually before him will round out his picture of the audience, telling him what relative weight to give to different audience categories and what outstanding listeners to cater to.

At least as important to the performer, if not more so, is the state and receptiveness toward his performance he finds his listeners in when he takes the floor; indeed it is mainly on positive or negative clues to this effect that he makes his final decision of song choice. Here the best clue comes from the performance immediately preceding, as an indicator of how the audience responded, as well as of what they were responding to. It is for this reason that performers normally monitor at least the singing of their immediate predecessors. In fact, most keep an ear on the entire performance, also for the purpose of picking up new repertoire (see Ethnographic Section B:316 f).For assessing the audience, then, the performer takes note both of the song selection performed before his turn as well as of the degree of success it achieved. At one level this can be gleaned from the amount of money the performer sees his predecessor gather at the end of his performance, as he is about to replace him. At another level, the impact of the preceding song can be noted in the free expression, among listeners, of a heightened state of emotion. On perceiving such a state, the performer may drop other considerations and select a song that thematically matches or extends the previous, successful performance selection. Indeed, this procedure conforms to the guideline for thematic continuity which is emphasized by both performers and Sufi listeners, stating that once a link (silsila) is established, it should not be broken (cf. Performance 2:445).

In the absence of a visible audience preference, however, the principle of continuity is quite freely disregarded, especially by a more confident and innovative performer who may, on the contrary, choose to make a contrasting selection for his performance in order to arouse a seemingly unengaged audience. More generally, performers facing an unfocussed audience will make their performance decision on the basis of structural factors, trying to suit the occasion or place,or to cater to individuals or components in the audience.

C The Performance

What has taken paragraphs to outline can obviously take the performer no more than moments to seize up before he begins his presentation. Thus, on the basis of both structural and setting factors, he arrives at a performance choice for his first Qawwali item. As summed up on Table 25, his decision identifies the song as to song text and includes song theme, association or author, language and style. It also further includes the musical choices of tune, rhythmic framework and ritual association, along with, possibly, durational or speed limitations--in case of an inexorably short "turn". Finally, it identifies the presentational style for the song and it may affect the ensemble.

However, it may also happen that the performer is unable or unwilling to choose a song by the time he sits down to perform, most likely because he feels the need to get a clearer indication of preference from at least some of his listeners, especially in the case of an unfamiliar setting. In this connection we must recall that the Qawwali song genre is structured in just such a way as to allow the performer an initial time of grace in order to observe, test or "try out"

TABLE 25: MUSIC VARIABLES AS AFFECTED BY SETTING VARIABLES

		Sponsor's identity				Audience				Performing Conditions				Occasion/Place	
		spiritual		personal		special		common		Party turn		Communal		Saint's celebration	
		saint's rep	Sheikh h/l	sophis-ticated	popular	Sufi	rich	ordinary	young	early	single	party follows	only	ritual	place .
TEXT															
Theme:	God														
	Prophet							x		x*					
	Saint	xx						x						xx**	x
	love	x	xx						x						x
	ecstasy		x						x						x
	separation														
	ritual	x												x	
	author		x											x	
Language:	Farsi			xx											
	Hindi			x	x			x							
	Urdu				xx			x	x						
Style:	high			xx											
	low				x			x	x						
MUSIC															
Tune:	old			x		x									
	modern				x		x	x	x						
Rhythm:	hard			x		x									
	easy				x			x	x		(x)				
PRESENTATION															
Duration:	long										x		x		
	short											x			
Style:	sophist.			x		(x)	(x)								
	popular				x			x	x						
Leadership:	mask											x			
	compete											x	x		

x preference
xx strong preference

*Thematic hierarchy rule prescribes precedence of Prophet theme
**Ritual repertoire rule prescribes specific songs with saint theme

his audience. This is possible primarily by means of the two parts preliminary to the song, the Introductory Verse (*ruba'i*), which prefaces the song proper, and also by means of the Instrumental Prelude (*naghmā*) preding the entire song complex. Neither of these parts is compulsory to the song, although convention suggests a standard usage in which a prelude precedes a singer's first selection and an introductory verse prefaces each of the songs. Thus the performer is free to make flexible use of these introductory portions, in order to best pursue his quest.

Prelude

On his first entry the performer will normally introduce himself with a prelude on the harmonium, accompanied by the drums, in order to get the audience's attention following the momentary distraction caused by the change of performers (cf. Performance 2:360). Depending on the type of audience and the style he wishes to project, the performer chooses a prelude built on the anapaestic rhythm that suggest the *zikr* Allahu and either traces with it the traditional melodic outline (see *naghmā-e-quddūsī*, p. 356) or incorporates that rhythm in the more modern prelude version current today (see p. 357) and preferred by many audiences "because it has a smart beat" (*kyūṅkeh is meṅ ṭhāp wāp zarā thīk ātā hai*--Meraj). If trying to appeal to a substantial common audience, the performer may also present in the prelude the tune of the song to follow, livened up with much accentuation on the drums.

Whichever version is used, the prelude serves to suggest a *zikr*-like experience to the audience with its rhythmic pattern heavily reinforced by clapping and increasing in speed until an abrupt halt is reached rhythmically at the same time as the melody descends to the tonic.

During the prelude the lead performer has time to scan the audience for any subtle signals that couldd indicate song preference. By looking around solicitously, especially at the leader and other important personages, he also declares himself ready to comply with any direct requests, thus inviting suggestions from special listeners. Even when he may already have a song in mind to perform, he knows that his choice can always be overruled at the last moment by a direct request from a spiritual notable for which he must be prepared. A request song is instantly assessed for its appropriateness and impact potential; if the performer considers the selection "just right" (sahih) for the situation, he may start the song directly without spending further time on introductions. As for requests by insignificant listeners, they are fulfilled only if the choice seems right to the performer or else ignored. A different situation occurs when a shortage of time is indicated, either by signals from the leader, or caused by delays preceding the performance. In this event, too, the performer is free to dispense with the prelude or even the introductory verse of the song. Normally, however, both introductory portions serve the advantage of the performer, even when for a second or third song in his turn he is likely to omit the instrumental prelude and only sing an introductory verse.

Introductory Verse

By convention, the introductory verse is related to the song thematically and often by language as well, thus representing, for the listeners, a sort of preview of what is to follow in the song. The performer, in turn, gets the opportunity to test their reaction to his choice of topic and language. If he perceives a favourable response, he allows the verse to lead directly into the song appropriate to it, one suggesting a similar theme within the recognized content categories (see Ch. 5:109 f). More often than not the song will also be set in the same language as the introductory verse, but the performer is also free to move to what he may consider a more appropriate linguistic idiom. In this he generally follows a hierarchical conception--parallel to the hierarchical sequence of song themes--that permits the introductory verse to evoke a higher, but never a lower status than the song proper. Thus a Farsi song can only be introduced by a Farsi verse, a classical Hindi song may be preceded by a verse in Farsi (see Performance 2:360) but not normally in Urdu, while for an Urdu song verses from all three languages are acceptable. Farsi verses are favoured for introductions because they evoke the classical Sufi saints and the entire symbolic realm of mysticism (cf. ex. 9). The performer knows that they will make their impression even on the members of an unlettered crowd, giving them enough of a taste of high Sufism without boring them with an entire song they don't understand. Hindi verses are chosen mostly to introduce Hindi songs.

If during the introductory verse no favourable responses are forthcoming, the performer need not make it lead into the song as planned but may pass on directly to a second introductory verse, suggesting a different theme and perhaps introducing a different language, in order to further explore the audience's mood. Very rarely a performer proceeds to a third, even a fourth ruba'i; such an extended introduction invariably reflects his uncertainty, caused most likely by an unfamiliar audience whose reaction he finds difficult to read.

Any switch of introductory verses is mostly a thematic one, between the general categories of songs addressing the Prophet or a Sufi saint, or of songs dealing with aspects of mystical love. Such a thematic switch is also a recognized strategy for satisfying the traditional requirements for a thematic hierarchy which early on in the gathering would obligate the performer to choose a song addressing the Prophet, if not God. If in such a performance situation he considers the prospect of a mystical love song, or one addressing a saint, more rewarding--as is often the case during a saint's anniversary--a first introductory verse praising the Prophet will satisfy the formal requirement. This then leaves him free to use his "turn" for a potentially more rewarding song with a different theme, which he then simply announces with a second introductory verse. A switch in language invariably proceeds from the sophisticated Farsi to the generally intelligible Hindi or Urdu. This happens where the audience is not responding to the Farsi, an indication that sophisticated Sufis are missing.

There is another way the performer may end up extending his introductory verse even without intending to do so. If the verse evokes a very positive response in the form of enthusiastic gestures or exclamations then the performer is obliged to keep repeating the particular verse line. Rarely, this can lead a listener to the stage of actual ecstatic arousal. Then mere repetition of the verse chanted without drumbeat will not suffice, for this state calls for intense rhythmic repetition (*takrār*)[8]. The performer, therefore, immediately "converts" the verse, from chanting in free rhythm to singing it in a musical meter while signalling the drummer to play the appropriate rhythmic pattern. The entire performing group now joins in the singing, emphasising the beat pattern with handclaps. Thus the introductory verse has itself become a Qawwali song which will now be continued as long as this verse and additional verses sustain the enthusiasm of the listeners. Performers consider such an occurrence a windfall, because, of course, offerings are part of the response--the song came to us as a bonus" (*ieh chīz muft meṅ mil gayī*--Meraj, see Performance 1:330, though actual ecstasy was not reached).

This discussion of song choice would not be complete without mentioning the other extreme to this windfall: a total lack of indication as to the audience's preference. It does happen that a performer finds no setting factor suggestive enough for a song topic, and even after several tries at introductory verses he sees no positive response in the audience. In such a case, whe he "can't figure things out" (*kuchh samajh meṅ nahīṅ āyā*), there is only intuition left to follow. So he simply picks whatever he feels like singing at that moment (*jo man meṅ āe*) and trusts in the saint's blessing (*karam*)--it may just succeed, or, conversely, the performance may also be a loss.

The Song

Finally, the performance has reached the starting point of the song itself. By now, the performer has either received a request and proceeds now to carry it out, or he has ascertained to his own satisfaction what topic, language and style of song are likely to appeal to the listeners he considers important. Having chosen the song, then, he now begins the process of performing it. This process is outlined in chart form on Table 26, where musical units and interaction between performer and audience are shown for the beginning of a song.

The performer has a basic performing sequence laid out for him which is implied in the structure of the Qawwali song itself and has been outlined in Chapter 3 D:63 ff. To begin with, the performer orients himself along this standard format, with the purpose of projecting the song message in a generally effective way, using all available channels of communication. Structurally speaking, this means that he focusses on the most easily comprehensible text unit, the verse line. Using it as the standard unit of communication, he follows a general pattern or repeating each verse line one to two times. On reaching the end of a verse in this manner, he re-states the entire verse in sequence once or twice, in order to emphasize its message in its entirety.

In his presentation he aims at clarity and emphasis, by judiciously mixing solo and group singing. The opening line of the song he intones solo, thus presenting its message in absolute clarity as well as drawing attention to his own leadership of the performing group. Subsequent group repetition adds emphasis to the communication, but every new line is first introduced by the leader. Furthermore, within each verse,the lead performer takes special care to convey the crucial connection between the initial "statement" portion (one or more verse lines) and the final "answer" portion (concluding line). Thus, after the group has repeated the opening statement and its extensions, if any, he stops the

TABLE 26: PERFORMANCE PROCESS IN OUTLINE
Beginning of Opening Verse, as Summarized on pp. 192-7

PERFORMANCE DECISION		MUSICAL UTTERANCE		AUDIENCE OBSERVATION
Assess impact of song choice	=	Opening line to asthāyī tune, several times	→	Much success, expressed in offerings, commotion
↪ Wait for offerings to reach leader	=	Keep up repeats of opening line		All sitting again
↪ No extreme response expected, yet hence as soon as money picked up, initiate completion of verse for enhancement of line 1	=	Restate line 1, solo to antarā tune	→	Attention focussed on lead performer and new message
↪ Open 2nd, concluding line	=	Introduce 2nd line solo, repeat with group, to asthāyī tune	→	Some more offerings, but no great shift of attention
↪ Return to opening line to harvest its enhanced meaning	=	Restate line 1, solo to asthāyī tune, several times	→	Focal listeners respond strongly
↪ option a):				
Intensification required, but also wish to enhance general appeal of line	=	Reiteration, using melodic/rhythmic alternatives	→	Enthusiasm spreads hence focal and other special listeners show expressive and link response (offerings)
option b):				
Focus on intensification of focal listeners' state	=	Multiple repetition, of line, or salient phrase, interspersed with complete statement of line. Lower tune alternative used	→	Focal listeners respond more strongly, impressing others who offer
option c):				
Evoke intensification among multitude of saint's devotees, on his anniversary	=	Multiple repetition alternating line (segment) with saint's name, may use lower tune	→	Common audience responds, offers, but leader may be displeased, dampening atmosphere/enthusiasm
option d):				
Intensification to be spread among specials by amplification at sophisticated level	=	Reiterate after insert of Farsi verse in recitative, culminating in line 1	→	Focal and several more specials respond strongly and offer....
↪				

group and once more intones the opening, or penultimate line in solo, always to an antarā or high-register tune. Thus he attracts the audience's attention to a new message: the coming conclusion of the verse which he states for the first time to an asthāyī or low-register tune, continuing the solo presentation and effectively underscoring the entire message with facial expression and gestures appropriate to the meaning as well as the type of audience present. This procedure of musically "setting up" the connection between initial and concluding verse line is singled out by the special term misra' kholnā ("to open the [salient concluding] line").

While he is making the initial statement of the first verse, the performer must first of all assess the impact of the song selection on the audience. If the selection is at all fortuitous, this impact will be expressed immediately in the form of at least at few offerings made by those who wish at this time to link themselves to the message theme or identity of the song (cf. Performance 1:all songs). It is up to the performer to judge which part of the verse is making the greatest impact. In some songs, the very first line can electrify a number of listeners, especially if the poem has an important spiritual association or authorship (see Performance 1:418). To allow for such an effect to happen, the performer best repeat the opening line many times in the asthāyī or lower register tune, even before making the connection to the second line for the first time. Repeat statements are kept up at least until all offerings have reached their destination. This is important because if provides even the listener who is last in line with the opportunity to make his offering to the sound of the statement that inspired it. In addition, the strategy also ensures that all commotion caused by the offering gestures has ceased and nothing will distract the audience from the impact of his next statement (cf. Performance 1:421, 442). This may also mean extending the repetition until those offerings made to someone other than the leader have been passed on to him, even though this process is a spiritual formality no more tied to the statement that initially inspired the offering.

There are gatherings where the presence of several descendants of a saint causes a great expansion of this formality, for by passing offerings, once received, to each other rather than directly to the leader, these descendents demonstrate mutual respect and validate each other's spiritual status before the larger audience. Predictably, performers find this unrewarding to wait for; often what looks like much offering money is just :one rupee passing all around" (ek rupyā chāroṅ taraf ghūmtā hai), but when it reaches the performer "it's still only one" (to ek hī hai--Meraj 2:15).

Even if the opening line has an unusual impact potential, there is little likelihood, at this initial stage, of more than incipient arousal, so that excessive repetition of the opening line is not called for beyond the first run of offerings. Rather, the performer's strategy is now to proceed to the second line in order to complete the statement and thus place the first line in the context of its full meaning. This he does in the standard way of "opening the (concluding) line" (see above).

Whatever the response on this second line, the performer repeats it until the offerings are placed, unless he sees someone in intense arousal which is, however, unlikely at this stage of the song. Since he is intending to go back to the effective first line of the verse, this automatically means that the second line will be repeated as well to complete the verse, so that its potential can be realized then, rather than having it repeated now, jeopardizing the still fresh promise of the first line.

The renewed statements of the opening line may well evoke stronger spiritual emotion in one--or even more than one--of the focal listeners (cf. Performance 1:405). This then calls for intensification through repetition to satisfy these listeners. If at the same time the performer wants to increase the appeal of the line to others, he can do so by introducing variety into the musical intensification, either melodically by using alternate, and usually higher-pitched versions of the asthāyī tune (cf. p. 420), or rhythmically by doubling the speed of all or part of the line, stating it twice or filling the time saved with an appellation (ex. 2:330). He may even, at this early stage of mostly incipient arousal, select salient parts of the line for some multiple repetition, provided the line contains an impressive phrase suitable for this device. Such takrār repetition, at this stage, will be limited, though, and interspersed with complete statements of the line, since no specific demand for potential repetition is indicated (cf. ex. 3:335 and 418).

At this point the performer is obviously using musical intensifiers in order to evoke intensification of his listerners' state, rather than only responding to such states--indeed there may not be much to respond to. If he succeeds, the reward will be offerings from those who feel inspired by such an early display of enthusiasm, especially from a spiritual notable. If the listeners to be aroused are devotees of the saint being honoured by the occasion, a simpler type of insert may be called for, relating directly to the saint: his name or tile, presented in alternation with the line or a salient part of it (as in ex. 6:351).

As much as all these devices are calculated to succeed in intensifying the state of arousal among at least some listeners, thus inspiring them and others to make offerings, they may also fail to do so, for reasons tangible as well as intangible. For one, the leader may show displeasure at all too many repeated appeals to the saint's name, for he considers this too obvious a ploy for compelling the devotees to confirm their allegiance by an offering. Any inserted verse also runs the risk of inviting disapproval (cf. Performance 2:447, 453), since it represents the performer's own choice--especially from a discriminating leader or a Sufi poet in the audience. On the other hand, if chosen with a good eye to the focal listeners' tastes, it can greatly enhance the general atmosphere of enthusiasm during this early phase of the song, thereby increasing the prospect for further intensification of the audience's state--hence the risk is worth taking (cf. Performance 1:420 f). An insert initiated by the performer may also inspire a listener to suggest a verse he wishes to have inserted in turn (cf. Performance 2:449, 458). Since only the leader or a listener of high standing will take this liberty, the performer is glad to comply with the request. For at least its author, and probably others respecting his spiritual stature, are likely to assert their link to this message by an offering.

Finally, an inserted verse may so inspire a leading listener that he wishes it repeated. Normally, this is indicated by a fervent response on the return back into the main verse line, so that the performer, after repeating the line to allow for the immediate expressive and offering responses, interrupts his companions to present the insert once again (cf. Performance 1:428 f). One special technique to enhance the repeat statement of a single verse insert is to add one or more verses preceding it, so that the previous insert now becomes the culmination of an entire verse sequence (cf. ex. 10:363 ff). The method of thus enhancing the previous insert is really the same as that of enhancing a verse line with an insert, so that this, then, represents a kind of double insertion. Of course the tune will be adapted to the expanded structure of the inserted verse, while the salient final line, leading back to the line of the song, remains musically the same.

A special situation obtains where a listener is so inspired by the insert itself that he needs it to be repeated just then, before the return to the main verse linen. If he has reached such an intense state as to require it, the performer will not only repeat the insert but try to single out the salient portion for multiple repetition. Even if such an extreme demand does not actually come from the listener, a sagacious performer may consider this move as an opportunity to generate more intense feeling all around--provided, of course, that the leader or some outstanding listeners are actually showing sings of arousal. Achieving multiple repetition within an insert means converting its musical setting of a recitative into one that is metrically controlled, so that rhythmic repetition can take place. Given the fact that the musical meter continuously sounded by the drum is that of the principal song and may not naturally fit with the verse rhythm (i.e. the poetic meter) of the insert, the conversion may require considerable rhythmic skill on the part of the performer (cf. ex. 10:367). Furthermore, he may also need to lower the melodic range of the insert, in order to make multiple repetition easy on the voice, especially if the repeat unit had been the last or penultimate line of the insert which require high register settings to connect back into the main song (see ex. 10:367). While the rhythmic repetition is successfully in progress, the performer still has to consider the process of connecting the insert back to the song line it had meant to enhance, although the temptation may exist to simply continue the poem of a successful insert as the song, superseding the original song choice. Turning recitative into song is certainly possible and permissible in the case of a successfully converted introductory verse, as has been indicated earlier (see p. 233). But whereas the musical process of conversion is similar for both adjunct units--introductory verse and insert--their position within the song structure differs fundamentally: An introductory verse can become the song, since no reference has yet been made to the song that was to follow, but an insert cannot, because the song has been introduced and with it a thematic and associational constellation or "chain" (silsila) that must not be broken off, according to Sufi rules.

The return to the song may however lose its effect once several repeat statements of the insert have been provided to please the leader or a patron (cf. Performance 1:428 f). If these repeats have resulted in nothing more than enthusiastic gestures, then the loss of offerings that follow a climatic connection of insert with verse line will be felt by the performer. In this event, or if the restatement of the opening line has otherwise been unsuccessful, he may as well move on to the second line and complete the verse (cf. Performance 1:431). The second time round this completion is no more as potentially dramatic, so the performer can only try again to highlight the connection by singing the first line to the antarā tune alone or even possibly by highlighting it rhythmically as well, through doubling the speed of delivery (cf. Performance 1:431).

While reiterating the line, he now keeps a sharp eye on potential offerers, as well as on the leader whose desire to hear the line repeated will have to be respected, even if no direct reward flows from it. There are likely to be a few offerings from the common audience who often tend to follow behind special listeners in their responses. At this point the performer will have his companions do the repeating, waiting only for the offerings to reach, so that he can have the "stage" to get his audience's undivided attention to start the next verse.

Further included in the performer's concern for good timing is the money pickup arrangement. In the few shrines where the leader provides one of his men for the task the performer has nothing to do with the matter, but in most assemblies it is he who designates one of his singers to look after the transfer of offerings from the leader to the performer (cf. both Performances). This person must be continually on the alert, presenting himself to the leader as soon as one or several offerings are deposited, so that he may receive them, which he does by respectfully bowing and raising the money to his forehead before taking it to the performer's harmonium. Unless the leader wishes it otherwise, the performer will see to it that money is never left lying in front of the leader (this is also the method followed by the leader's own carrier). Most performers consider this process as an appropriate means to focus the audience's attention on the offerings, but it can also waste precious performance time at the point when a verse line has yielded all its offerings and the performer would like to introduce the next line without any distracting commotion. For this reason the pickup man is always alert and swiftly moves in on the offerings as they are made, while the leader performer repeats the line just long enough to see the money reach him and immediately proceeds to the next line (cf. Performance 1:389).

When in succession to an impressive opening statement, the second line of a verse does not often have much impact, but normally it is the concluding portion which can most be expected to generate arousal. In subsequent verses, then, the performer is likely not to waste time reiterating their first line more than a few times. Instead, he may use the musical opportunity offered by the high-register _antarā_ tune of the first line to insert one or more melodic improvisations (_tān_) in between returns of the verse line (see ex. 2:330). By suspending briefly the continuity of the text message he further emphasises the intermittent character of the first line, thus increasing the anticipation for the second one. This structuring strategy at the same time also represents an appeal to the sophisitication of the audience at a moment when their responses do not indicate absorption in the text message. Of course the impact of such a purely musical insert will not bring offerings directly --for it would not be in keeping with Sufi tenets to reward a tune without words--; rather the positive impact on special listeners will be rewarded at the appropriate moment of the connection with the second verse line.

On the whole, purely musical devices need to be used with care, for in case a Sufi is absorbed in the meaning of the verse line, he may disapprove of the interruption by a signalling gesture or even by a direct verbal statement. Disapproval is also likely if the musical insert is of a popular style designed to appeal to common listeners. A clearly "classical" choice, such as a phrase from a famous raga or a passage using classical solmization syllables (cf. Table 3:50), is likely to be appreciated as a sophisticated enhancement to the leader and his assembly. To an extent, even the incipient arousal of a group of high status listeners can be enhanced by the judicious addition of musical inserts, but once any individual listener shows signs of being more strongly moved, this, or any other interruption from the salient text unit will "disturb" (distarb karegā--Meraj). Indeed, at this point even the most appropriate text insert will only "sting" the aroused devotee (wahāṅ to usko girah chhubegī bahut--Meraj M2-61, cf. Peformance 2:453).

Once the concluding line has been reached, the performer will now do everything he can to increase its effectiveness, while at the same time keeping a sharp eye on the leader and the front row listeners, though also including the general audience in his focus. As soon as he sees any signs of incipient arousal, such as strong swaying, head shaking or other rhythmic movements, he zeros in by repeating the line, substituting alternate tune versions so as to keep other listeners engaged by musical variety. He is also particularly alert to gestures or signals pointing to a particular text phrase as the source of inspiration; then he immediately proceeds to turn that phrase into his repeat unit. This he does by singing the phrase solo and letting his accompanists complete the line in chorus, so that he can take a breath to repeat the phrase again, followed by the chorus in the same way. This is the "classical" style of doing multiple repetition, but today many Qawwals simply have the group follow them in the repetition, once they initiate the salient unit solo, especially when the unit is an entire line.

Other devices to render repetition more effective are intensifiers such as extra weight on accented beats by drum or handlcaps (cf. p. 454), clapping on half-beats, or increasing the tempo very gradually; these are meant to be used in situations of intense arousal or ecstasy. But a performer may well resort to them when he sees the leader or one or more special listeners showing enthusiasm, hoping that offerings may result. "Actions" too may sometimes be used for that purpose, provided, of course, they are not censured by the leader as being to worldly.

Continuous visual reference to the leader enables the performer to be constantly aware of his reactions and avoid his displeasure. There are, however, moments when he is willing to risk that displeasure, e.g. on seeing an opportunity for a high reward in the person of a rich devotee with a particular preference which he would rather satisfy. The reward to be gained may be great, but it is never guaranteed, so that the risk is real.

As the performer moves from one verse to the next, he focusses not only on the internal structuring of the verse but also on larger aspects of song structure such as verse sequencing and song duration. The more conservative performer will sing all the verses of a song, for the traditional Sufi leader expects this and may remind him of any omitted verse, although the order of verses is somewhat flexible. Of course all verses do not have the same arousal potential, but there is a general assumption among performers that any verse can become the vehicle for spiritual blessing and no consistent pattern can be expected. On the other hand, it is clear to performers as well as listeners that verses invoking the link between devotee and saint or spiritual leader (so-called nisbatī--"connectional" or "linking" verses), have a more or less guaranteed appeal which requires an offering response to activate the link element. Such verses are of course never omitted, even if limited time requires the song to be shortened. On the contrary, the performer tries to make the best of them (cf.ex. 4 verse 5 in Performance 1:339 f).

In spite of some disclaimers, a performer does single out those verses whose potential impact he knows from experience, aiming to enhance them by such means as multiple repetition with melodic variation and particularly with what Qawwals call "encirclement of repetition" (takrār ka halqā). In this technique, appropriate fillers--such as saints' titles or exclamations--highlight the transition from one repeat statement to the next one, with filler and text unit contrasted by solo-group responsory (see ex. 6:351). Should one or more of his listeners respond more fervently to the statement thus repeated, then a more intense form of multiple repetition is called for. This is usually carried out by simple group repetition to achieve a consistently high level of sound volume, along with a gradual increase in tempo. If the aroused listener is of stature, the performer will not spare any effort in catering to his needs. Even if he is not, the rule of continuing the takrār repetiton must be observed, especially once a state of ecstasy is validated by te leader through his gesture of standing up, thus causing the entire audience to rise (cf. Performance 2:453). Until then, there is some freedom of movement for the performer, at least theoretically. He may get away with starting an insert or moving on to a different text unit--even if it is only the repeat of a preceding line--in order to please more prominent listeners. On the whole, however, the leader takes seriously any manifestation of arousal--as indeed he must--, even if it comes from a low status or junior listener; the performer therefore had better do likewise. To be scolded or set right by the leader not only affects the performer's standing adversely, it also disturbs the atmosphere of the assembly which in the end is likely to reduce his income from offerings.

Except where he enjoys privileged access or is the only one to sing, a performer is naturally concerned with utilizing his performance time to his best advantage. An insignificant person's ecstatic state can constitute a significant loss of precious time, so that performers heartily approve of some leaders' tactics ensuring that such a person is not allowed to keep the floor or later to stay in the leader's embrace too long (see Ch. 5: 190). But the performer himself can do little to manage his time, except not waste any where it is in his power to do so. His principal technique to this end is the instant switch from one unit of structure to another, a technique which he also uses continuously to cater to his listeners' changing needs. The instant he decides on the move he proceeds swiftly not only from one repeat unit to another, but from one completed verse to the next one, and even from song to song (cf. ex. 1 and 4 in Performance 1), without waiting to sing to the end of preceding unit. Thus it is entirely normal for a performer to end a song without any cadential signal, simply by starting in on the opening line of the next one, often before quite finishing the last line of the previous song. His logic is that a song is to be continued--as is any other message unit in Qawwali--as long as it is serving its function, i.e. as long as people are responding to its message or can be expected to do so. But once it ceases to evoke responses it should be dropped instantly in favour of a different, more fortuitous choice. Performers know that the leader will go along with abreviating a song as long as all the principal verses are sung at least once. Of course this strategy can benefit the performer only if his turn extends to the next song to follow, otherwise he is merely shortening his own performing time. Since he knows that his turn may be cut off by his ending a song, especially if it is the second one, he tries to eliminate any structural clues to finality--such as slowing down or intoning a melodic or rhythmic cadence--so that the leader may not anticipate the impending end and allow him to continue the new song once he has managed to start in on it. This move can take a performer only so far, however, for a simple movement of the leader's hand can send him off the stage even after the start of the new song.

Another method of dealing with an unsuccessful song is to present material more pleasing to the audience within the song itself. This would avoid the danger inherent in terminating it, especially when the "turn" is known to allow for only one song. The method is to switch from one lengthy insert to another, emphasizing their presentation and thus minimizing the importance of the song text. Recognized as a salvage operation, such a "hodge-podge" (khichrī, literally a dish of rice and lentils mixed together--Meraj M2:61) is disdained by good performers and censured by Sufis, both upholding the integrity of the song message in its given sequence as one of the fundamentals of Qawwali singing.

Respecting the textual integrity of a song can also invite censure, however, in the event a leader or spiritual notable does not approve of a particular textual version or a text unit itself. Even when the performer knows his own version to be the standard one, he then must immediately correct his performance by changing wordings or glossing over the offensive text unit as soon as he is alerted to the demand. This may require some musical manoevering, as is exemplified in the sudden omission of a second verse line where the concluding tune, sung to the continued first line, covers up for the missing text conclusion. Performers may resent the "disturbance" caused by such arbitrary demands, but whether they arise from a Sufi's assertion or his spiritual need, he meets it to the best of his ability, as is his task.

Finally, the performer will end a song with a proper musical conclusion, if he is sure of his right to continue singing, or, conversely, if he knows that his departure will be irrevocable after this song. He then takes pride in concluding his song with the standard musical cadence of reiterating the opening line slowly to the asthāyī tune (Performance 2:461) or ending this tune with a descent to the tonic, along with a thrice repeated rhythmic cadence (tiyā) on the drum (Performance 1:442).

This completes a generalized picture of the performance process as focussing on one complete unit of performance, a song, but placing it within the larger context of a performer's "turn" and, ultimately, that of an entire Qawwali event. Having thus informed the reader ethnographically how Qawwali music in performance is context-sensitive in a remarkably formal and observeable way, the ground is prepared for dealing with the process of performance analytically so as to make sense out of the rule system at work.

CHAPTER 10

THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS--ANALYSIS

In this chapter we are finally ready to tackle directly the central question of this thesis: how to programme music in performance by introducing contextual input into the sound rule system. In a sense, all preceding chapters can be considered preliminary to this step; at least they each are indispensible as prerequisites to it, for this step essentially consists of abstraction and simplification, of reducing processes governing complex and diverse variables to analytically manageable dimensions. This of course makes sense only because those variables andd processes have been identified first: the structures of music and context have both been explained within their relevant frame of reference, and the process of their interaction has been outlined likewise. "How variations in the music are generated by variations in the performance situation" (Ch. 1:6) has thus been shown descriptively in the previous chapter. What remains is to systematize the performance dimension by expressing the diverse and particular in terms of the simple and general.

This analysis starts from the premise that the context-music interaction operates on the basis of certain underlying principles which constitute the common denominators linking the musical idiom with the context of performance. Those principles serve as the referents, "translating" context into music, and in turn expressing context musically. It is by applying them that the Qawwali performer "plugs" context variables into his performance of the music. These principles or referents, then, provide the key to the way context is evaluated and expressed in music. What this key unlocks is meaning, non-musical meaning. It refers to the context, both in its spiritual and social aspects and is considered to be manifest in the music by general agreement among performers as well as listeners of Qawwali. Applying this key can therefore explain the basis for the performer's selection of contextual variables as cues for his selection of musical ones. On the basis of this process of analysis the model of Qawwali music can then be rewritten to include the input from the context via the key of these semantic referents.

The foundation of the entire analytical procedure is ethnographic, which is in keeping with the empirical approach postulated at the outset and followed throughout the study. The data is of necessity generalized; it includes much that is already represented in earlier chapters as well as much observation and talk with informants. The analytical dimension, unlike the ethnographic one, is arrived at by means of what amounts to etic logic. although based on the application of emic premises. Throughout the chapter, each analytical step and each sub-system of meaning is outlined on tables, separately for context (Tables 27-29, 33, 34, 36, 38) and music (Tables 30, 35, 37) as well as correlated to show the equivalences (Tables 31, 32). The conclusions too are schematized in table form (Tables 39, 40).

The first step in the analysis is to establish two basic premises characterizing the relationship of the Qawwali performance idiom with the

Qawwali performance context: a) The idiom is semantically capable of being a referent to the context, and--following logically--b) the idiom can express or manifest the context as well as suggest or motivate it. On the basis of these premises the performance interaction takes place along dimensions that form the link between context and music and generate the principles which operationalize those links. Seen analytically, it is these operational principles which provide the performer with the criteria of interpretation for his evaluation of contextual factors and, accordingly, for the appropriate selection of musical factors. Put in another way, these criteria of interpretation function as semantic indicators or referents for a "translation" process taking place between context and music. This process underlies the selection of performance items and it continues to operate throughout the song performance. Its starting point is always the evaluation of the audience and its responses, i.e. the context, whether along structural or procedural dimensions. Hence this analytical outline, too, proceeds from context evaluation to musical expression, but considers their interaction both ways. Principles and criteria of evaluation are considered in a sequence temporally as well as logically appropriate, starting with those governing structural dimensions and proceeding to the actual process of the song performance.

A Structural Dimension

Referents 1 and 2: Status and Identity

1. Evaluation of Context

Two primary referents appear to be crucial to the process of audience assessment and song selection: they are identity and status. As listed on Table 27, each of the two referents generates a set of criteria pertaining to spiritual, socio-economic, and personal attributes. The performer uses these criteria to evaluate the contextual factors and then to select the musical attributes that accord best with his evaluation.

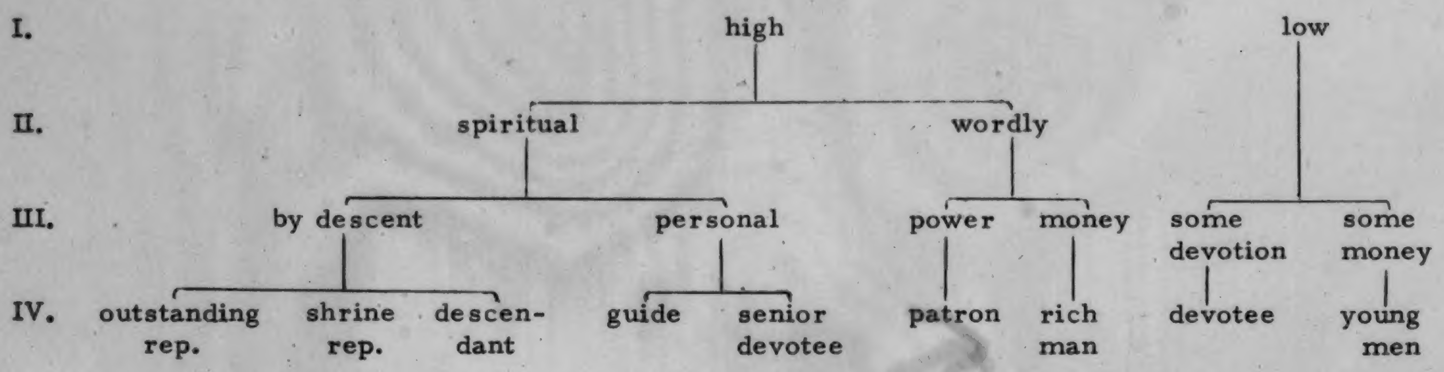
Of the two referents, status is of prime importance analytically, because it provides the performer with an ordering frame for the diversity of contextual variables he encounters, particularly in the audience. While the performer is cognizant of each individual status dimension, they serve him to arrive at a total status evaluation for the individual listener, based on the relative importance assigned to each status dimension, and comprising a composite of status attributes. Categories of listeners are normally identified by their dominant status dimension, but within each category individual status is generally enhanced by one or more secondary status attribute. To illustrate, Table 28 identifies the standard categories of listeners in Qawwali assemblies with reference to their primary status dimensions. Table 29, on the other hand, lists individual listeners of high status along with a breakdown of their status attributes. Together, the criteria identifying listeners by status enable the performer to divide them into status categories, as he requires. Depending on the performance decision to be made, this may mean no more than to identify high status listeners as

TABLE 27: STATUS AND SPIRITUAL IDENTITY REFERENTS EVALUATION OF CONTEXT

ATTRIBUTES * OF AUDIENCE	STATUS CRITERIA	(SPIRITUAL) IDENTIFICATION CRITERIA
a) Spiritual dimension	as manifested in:	
1. descent affiliation:	→ ancestral pedigree	→ saint, shrine, lineage representation
2. spiritual function:	→ representational pedigree (seniority)	
	→ leadership pedigree	→ spiritual guidance
		→ devotion
b) Socio-economic dimension		
1. patronage/power:	→	
2. wealth:	→	
c) Personality dimension		
1. personal culture:	→ cultural level (of sophistication)	→ stylistic preference
2. age:	→ (physical) seniority	

* In order of importance

TABLE 28: STATUS IDENTIFICATION: AUDIENCE CATEGORIES
(cf. Table 15, Ch. 7)


I.
II.
III.
IV.
high
low
spiritual
wordly
by descent
personal
power
money
some devotion
some money
outstanding rep.
shrine rep.
descendant
guide
senior devotee
patron
rich man
devotee
young men

I. = basic status indicator

II. = basic status identity

III. = status attributes

IV. = resulting audience categories

⟶ direction of decreasing status

TABLE 29: STATUS IDENTIFICATION: INDIVIDUAL LISTENER *
According to Combined Status Attributes

outstanding asset	+	primary enhancement	+	secondary enhancement
senior saints' rep.		patron		guide
shrine rep.		patron		guide
patron		devotee		rich man
guide		shrine rep.		rich man
rich man		devotee		
descendant		(guide (minor)		
senior devotee				

* In order of decreasing individual status

opposed to those lacking status. Or, conversely, it may mean ranking individual high-status listeners vis a vis each other.

The second operational principle, identity, is of secondary importance analytically, for its function as an ordering device is limited. Only attributes within the spiritual dimension are relevant to the performer for his evaluation of the audience, due, obviously, to the spiritual function of the Qawwali assembly. Analytically speaking, then, the performer's performance evaluation of setting and situation may be summarized as follows:

a) Status evaluation consists initially of establishing the two principal audience status categories, high and low. At the same time, individual listeners in the high status category are rated for potential ranking according to their relative status by means of the combined status criteria.

b) Identity evaluation consists of determining the salient attributes of spiritual identity among high status listeners. In addition, the stylistic preferences of high status listeners are ascertained.

The leader of the assembly is of course subjected to the same evaluation procedure. While by definition his overall status is above that of the other listeners, it is relevant to measure his relative spiritual status. What is of prime concern is to assess the features of his spiritual identity.

Fixed setting factors are relevant to the performer mainly in relation to the audience; hence their evaluation ultimately contributes to his audience assessment and is subject to the same criteria of interpretation. Occasion and place are significant in terms of their spiritual identity component, while time and locale indirectly inform the status asssessment of the audience.

2. Expression in Music

Having thus reduced the performer's evaluation of setting variables to criteria of status and identity, it now remains to show how these criteria serve as semantic referents for the translation of contextual factors into musical ones. This implies that musical or performance idiom variables can be made subject to these very same criteria. Table 30 shows how the principles of status and identity are indeed represented by specific musical dimensions and include attributes of text, music and presentation. The table lists musical dimensions in order of priority.

In considering first the criteria of status, what becomes apparent immediately is their great number but limited differentiation, i.e. all musical dimensions indicative of status basically serve the designation of only two broad status categories: high and low. Taken together, they all add up to characterize, in the extreme, two opposite musical prototypes--one high status and resembling classical music and poetry; one low status and resembling popular music--of which these dimensions are the individual components. By varying these components, different intermediary combinations can be obtained to achieve varying proportions of high or low status ingredients. While the status distinctions suggested by these musical dimensions are in essence socio-economic ones, it is noteworthy that dimensions indicative of spiritual status in particular have a most limited representation in the form of language and style.

TABLE 30: STATUS AND IDENTITY REFERENTS: EXPRESSION IN MUSIC

ATTRIBUTES* OF MUSIC	STATUS CRITERIA	IDENTIFICATION CRITERIA
a) Text dimension		
1. Thematic content		→ mystical personages
		→ mystical states
2. Association		→ ritual-author
3. Language	→ Farsi-Hindi-Urdu	→ formal-intimate
		→ foreign-indigenous
4. Style	→ sophisticated-popular "veiled" "obvious"	→ ornate-plain
b) Music dimension		
1. Tune	→ old-modern	→ authentic-"composed" ritual-author
2. Rhythm	(→ serious-popular) "hard"-easy	
c) Presentation dimension		
1. Style	→ sophisticated-popular	
2. Elaboration	→ rhythmic-melodic	→ textual-musical

* In order of importance

A concerns the principle of identity, its principal dimension is spiritual, while the expression of personal identity or "cultural preference", may operate independently of spiritual identity.

Analytically speaking, then, the performer's musical expression of principles of status and identity may be summarized as follows:

a) Status expression is achieved on the basis of establishing two principal status levels, high and low, through a variety of narrow musical dimensions. In addition, individual status differentiations can be made manifest by using these dimensions in varying combinations.

b) Identity expression is centered on the manifestation of spiritual identity through few but widely differentiated musical dimensions. In addition, personal identity or stylistic preferences can be expressed variously across the musical idiom.

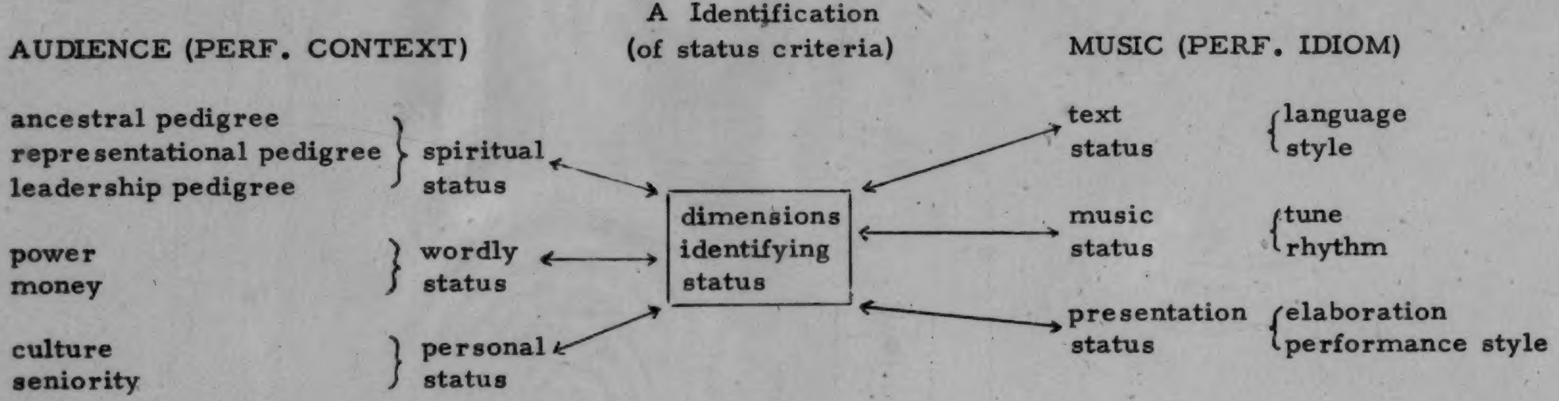
The foregoing summary makes evident that the principles of status and identity apply to each of the two performance domains, i.e. context and music. It now remains to show how the two are connected through the two principles when they are used as semantic referents, first to evaluate the context and then to select the appropriate musical variables to make the evaluation manifest in performance.

3. Context-Music Interaction

Tables 31 and 32 summarize how the two semantic referents are applied in principle, based on the identification of relevant indicators within the contextual as well as the musical domain. To apply successfully each of the referents, the musician is required to have as part of his musical repertoire an understanding of the status and identity attributes

TABLE 31: APPLICATION OF SEMANTIC REFERENT 1: STATUS

A Identification
(of status criteria)

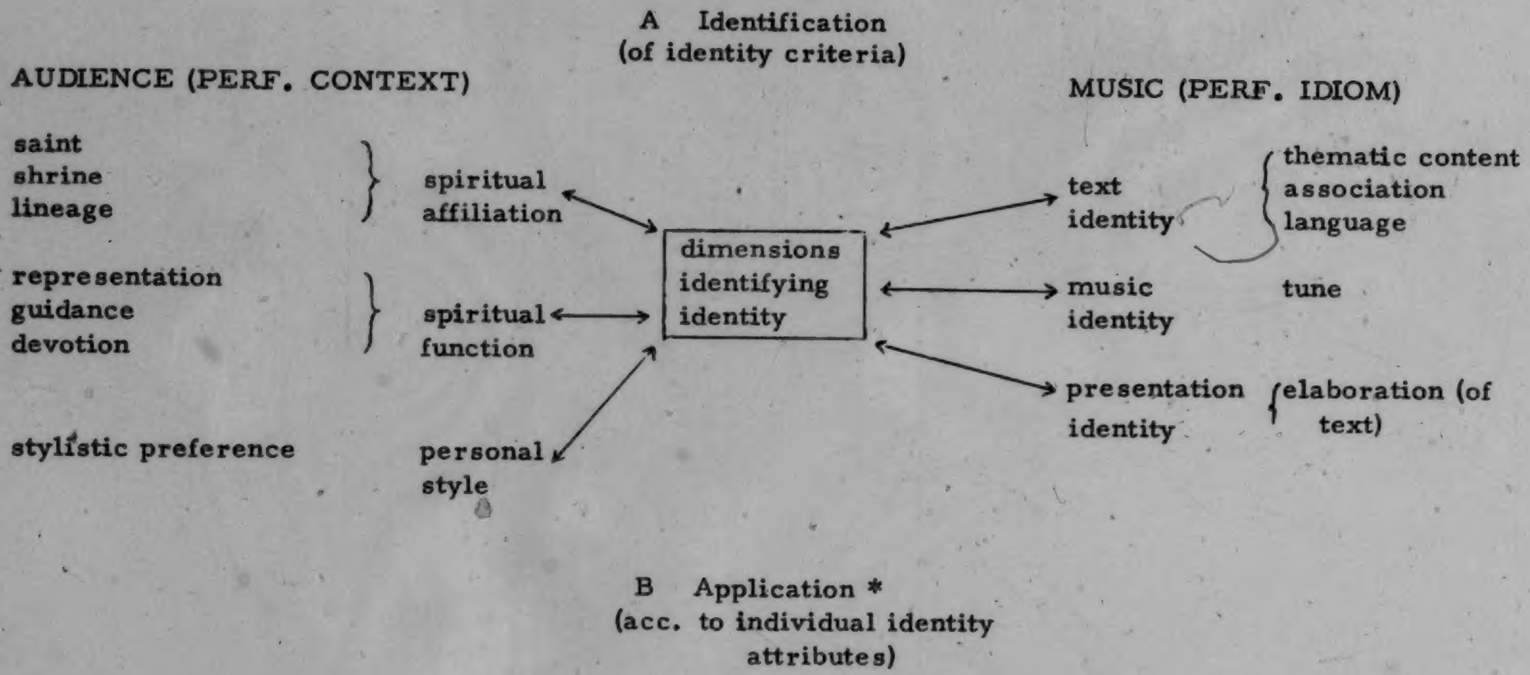

AUDIENCE (PERF. CONTEXT)
ancestral pedigree
representational pedigree
leadership pedigree
spiritual status
power
money
wordly status
culture
seniority
personal status
dimensions identifying status
MUSIC (PERF. IDIOM)
text status
language
style
music status
tune
rhythm
presentation status
elaboration
performance style

B Application *
(acc. to status levels)

Categories: (reduced from spiritual, worldly and personal status attributes)	Individuals:		Text: language	style	Music: tune	rhythm	Presentation: elaboration	perf. style
special	high status	HIGH ↑ Status levels ↓ LOW	Farsi Hindi	sophisticated "veiled"	"old" classical	"hard" complex	rhythmic classical	"sober" restrained
↕	↕		↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕
common	lower status		Urdu	simple "open"	"new" popular	"easy" simple	melodic	exuberant explicit

*Variability of application corresponding with varying individual statuses in audience (see text).

TABLE 32: APPLICATION OF SEMANTIC REFERENT 2: IDENTITY


A Identification
(of identity criteria)
AUDIENCE (PERF. CONTEXT)
MUSIC (PERF. IDIOM)
saint
shrine
lineage
spiritual affiliation
representation
guidance
devotion
spiritual function
stylistic preference
personal style
dimensions identifying identity
text identity
thematic content
association
language
music identity
tune
presentation identity
elaboration (of text)
B Application *
(acc. to individual identity attributes)

* See text p. 216

contained within the dimensions of the performance idiom (as listed on Table 30 and summarized on Tables 31 and 32, under Identification: Music). Equally, he requires the competence to identify status and identity of his listeners on the basis of the standard dimensions characterizing Qawwali audiences (as listed on Tables 27 and 28, and summarized on Table 31 and 32 under Identification: Audience).

Overlaps and combinations between these dimensions occur within the audience; these can equally be achieved within the music, so that, theoretically, individual variation and even contradiction between listeners can be reflected in the music by means of variable combinations of the relevant dimensions. Furthermore, the musical expression of status and identity need not follow a predictable pattern. Rather, the principle of applying the two semantic referents in performance is a flexible process of combination and selection in accordance with the performer's assessment of the need of the moment. As summarized on Tables 31 and 32 the process may be characterized as follows:

Two overall status categories are ascertained for the audience and these find expression in a number of musical factors. This allows the performer the flexibility to select a combination of attributes signifying one kind of status while at the same time permitting him the use of musical options with a different or even contrary implications. This becomes significant as a tool to accommodate variation among listeners. At this level, general status dimensions enable the performer to rank high status individuals according to their combined status assets (as schematized on Table 29), so that he can rank or single out individual listeners of high status and cater to them musically.

It is by means of the identity referent that the actual content selection of the performance is made, whether on the basis of an entire audience's commitment to an occasion of performance, or of an outstanding listener's spiritual identity. Here, too, the process is inherently flexible, since the audience dimensions may overlap or occur in any combination, and their musical representation can be varied accordingly, depending on who is to be singled out for identification and with how strong an emphasis.

The discussion so far has established the principle of application for the two semantic referents, status and identity, with reference to the structural dimension of a performance, governing the performer's assessments and decisions up to and including his choice of a song. While these referents of status and identity are the principal criteria the performer applies at the stage of evaluating structural and setting factors, they continue to inform his performance decisions throughout the process of performance. At the same time, beginning with the performer's consideration of the purely situational aspect of his performance setting, a third operational principle comes into play, referring to the spiritual state of the audience. In other words, his focus now moves to what is the explicit and primary purpose of the Qawwali assembly: spiritual arousal.

B Process Dimension

Referent 3: Spiritual State/Intensification

1. Evaluation of Context

At this initial stage of the performance, the audience's spiritual state serves the performer as no more than an auxiliary criterion of evaluation that may lead to amplify or modify his assessments based on status and identity referents. However, state, or degree of spiritual arousal becomes the dominant principle of operation, once the performance is under way; indeed it is this principle that primarily governs the dynamic of the performance process. Two attributes characterize spiritual state and distinguish it in a fundamental way from both status and identity. First and foremost, spiritual state is experiential and has an immediate temporal dimension, i.e. it varies with time throughout a performance--unlike status and identity which remain unchanged. Second, spiritual state is seen as founded in intuitive idividual experience, hence it can occur in any listener, regardless of status and identity--and may, but need not, correlate with the structural attributes of status and identity.

There is a further attribute of spiritual state which fundamentally distinguishes is from status and identity and is particularly relevant in the consideration of its evaluation by the performer. Identity and status are structural attributes representing established social facts or shared assumptions. As such, they are characterized by a consistent pattern of outward manifestations. The performer often knows these attributes beforehand, and even if he applies the criteria of status evaluation on the basis of behavioral manifestations, his interpretation is easily verified. On the whole, outer manifestations of status and identity only confirm behaviorally what constitutes structural knowledge for the performer as well as his audience. State of arousal, on the contrary, is entirely individual and situational and thus subject to interpretation on the basis of outward manifestation only. Yet, state of arousal is not behavior, it is an abstraction inferred from it and individual manifestations of such states vary widely. Accordingly, while outward manifestation is the only indicator of spiritual state, it is nevertheless not considered primary. Rather, the performer interprets behavioral responses with reference to the range and repertoire of generally accepted expressive conventions (outlined in Ch. 7 and summarized on Table 19-22). In addition, he needs to evaluate individual differences in behavior in the light of relevant personal attributes and recognize their motivation, whether it resides in the individual's spiritual status or identity, or else in his personal idiosyncracy. But his focus--and hence that of his analytical presentation--is on the listener's state as he perceives it rather than on its behavioral indicators.

Qawwali performers share the standard Sufi conceptions regarding spiritual arousal and its expressions. Therefore the framework of spiritual states and their outward manifestations is of relevance as a basic interpretative guide for the performer.

But the performer also evaluates these standard expressive responses with an eye to individual variation. This is relevant especially for identifying the intial stage of arousal, which is often not manifested as clearly and overtly as the more advanced spiritual states. Indeed, the same raised arm may mean to the performer either a significant signal of incipient arousal or nothing more than a habitual gesture of appreciation. When it comes to the manifestation of more intense spiritual emotion, previous assessments of status and identity are a factor in the performer's evaluation. In congruence with the social norm of restrained self-management governing the assembly leader as well as listeners of elevated status, the performer expects restraint on the free expression of ecstatic abandonment where such high status listeners are concerned.

The formal offering, too, is evaluated by the performer as an indicator of the presence of spiritual arousal; however, its constancy of form--even where it contains an intensification such as prostration--limits it as an indicator of the degree of arousal. Furthermore, the performer is quite aware of the social motivation that may underlie an offering. Single responses expressing individual states of arousal form the basic units of assessment for the performer. At the same time he is fully aware that such states and their expression are subject to the dynamic of time and space. Thus, in terms of time he sees each single response as representing a point in the continuum of increasing--or decreasing--spiritual arousal, so that his assessment of every response will be informed by his evaluation of preceding responses. Conversely--and more significantly, from the point of view of strategy--he uses his total assessment of past and present arousal to project ahead, anticipating the direction of spiritual developments, in order to cater to them. The same point applies to the performer's consideration of the spatial dynamic within the assembly. He realizes the impact which both the strong arousal of one listener, as well as the mild arousal of many, can have on the entire audience. This impact is fairly predictable when it emanates from spiritually superior listeners, since the spiritual content of their arousal is recognized by everyone as a blessing. But the same does not apply to other listeners, especially those of the "common" category, so that for the impact of their arousal much depends on the general mood of the gathering and, ultimately, on the validating response of the spiritual leader(s) present. In this context, the collective guesture of standing up when a common listener rises in ecstasy is seen as a formalized validation by the leader who initiates and terminates the gesture. In general, the performer, while assessing each individual, does so with reference to the audience as a whole, which really means keeping an eye on everyone--no wonder he claims to need "an eagle's eys" (chīl kī āṅkh--Meraj) for the task and sometimes also relies on his companions to lend him an eye.

Built into the assessment of the listener's state is the performer's concern with the dynamic inherent in the state dimension, since it is at the level of process rather than structure that he applies the criterion of spiritual state in the music. Thus he aims at assessing the needs emanating from the spiritual states of the audience. Sufi tenets makes it clear that the primary need inherent in every spiritual state is to realize the arousal potential contained in it, i.e. to intensify it to its culmination. The dynamic, thus, is intensification, or degrees of increasing intensity, that spiritual arousal itself consists of, and thus a continuum of increasing intensity encompasses all stages of arousal. It follows from this, that each individual state is always the product of intensification and thus requires intensification to be sustained as well as to be increased or moved to a higher stage of arousal. Tables 33 and 34 summarize the performer's evaluation of state. Table 33 lists the way the performer assesses both spiritual states as manifested in outward expressions and the dynamic he sees inherent in them. Table 34 shows schematically how these states and their dynamic fit into the time and space dimension. Both tables are organized so as to underline the fact that there is a dynamic operating both to generate and to sustain or increase these spiritual states. Since it is the aim of the performer--in accordance with Sufi tenets--to bring about this increase by means of the song he is singing, he has to shape his performance of the song in accordance with the principle of intensification. The crucial point is that in this process the music takes on a much more dynamic function than in the application of status and identity criteria. For there, the music no more than reflects and reinforces the status and identity of listeners, whereas here the principle of intensification, realized musically, operates not only to reinforce but actually to generate and increase states of arousal.

2. Expression in Music

From the discussion of state assessment it is obvious that, in order to serve its function, Qawwali music must above all express and convey intensification. Since intensification is a process, its musical expression, unlike that of status and identity, can only be conveyed through a process--the process of performance itself. Thus it is not musical units or attributes but the principle of structuring such units or attributes which represents intensification musically. This

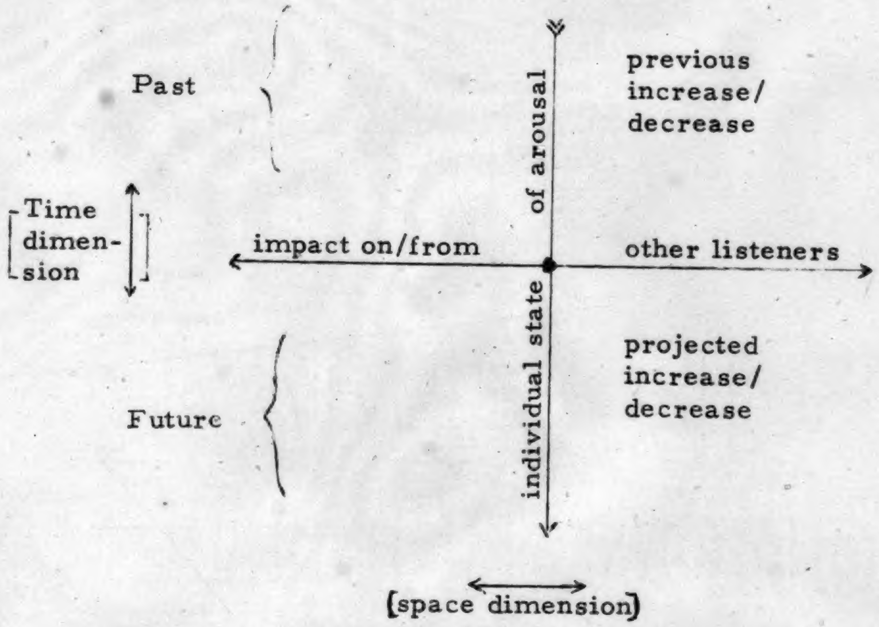
TABLE 33: SPIRITUAL STATE REFERENT: EVALUATION OF CONTEXT
(cf. Table 17, Ch. III)

a) Expressive manifestation*	State assessment	State dynamic
none	→ neutral	→ generate arousal
tap, move head, sway nod, raise arm, verbal expression, exclaim	→ mildly aroused	→ reinforce/amplify + increase arousal
more vehemently, weep raise arms, shout prostrate	→ intensely aroused	→ sustain + increase
stand up, walk move about, dance fall down, toss about	→ ecstatic	→ sustain + bring to completion
b) Link manifestations		
offering, ± prostration	→ any state	→ sustain + increase
embrace, ± offering	→ ecstatic or intensely aroused	→ sustain + bring to completion

* In order of increasing intensity

TABLE 34: STATE REFERENT: EVALUATION OF CONTEXT IN TIME-SPACE PERSPECTIVE

● = State dynamic in time/space context


Past
previous increase/ decrease
of arousal
Time dimension
impact on/from
other listeners
individual state
projected increase/ decrease
Future
(space dimension)

structuring principle is repetition.

That repetition is indeed a primary structuring principle for the Qawwali idiom has already been established in the musical analysis of Chapter 3. It remains here to show how specifically repetition with its concomitants expresses and conveys intensification, or, put in more systematic terms, how the semantic referent of intensification is applied to Qawwali music through the medium of repetition.

As outlined in Chapter 3 (pp. 50 and 59) and summarized on Table 8, repetition in Qawwali music takes the form of three processes: simple reiteration (dohrānā), multiple repetition (takrār) and recurrence based on recombination and insertion (girah lagānā). All three represent and embody facets of intensification which operate both within and between stages of arousal. All repetition basically works the same way: it intensifies by re-impressing on the listener the same message over and over. As schematized in Table 35, different types and degrees of intensification are represented by three types of musical repetition. To show how they are differentiated requires to call to mind that in Qawwali they operate on a musical idiom which gives primacy to text over music. Thus, reiteration serves to impress the message on the mind (samjhānā) by means of simple re-statements. Insertion-recurrence serves to make the message explicit by the insertion of an amplifier between recurrent statements. Multiple repetition, finally, is the intensifier par excellence in a Qawwali performance, by impressing the message fully and continuously.

In relation to the arousal continuum, different types of repetition are associated, more or less loosely, with different stages: Reiteration

TABLE 35: STATE REFERENT: EXPRESSION IN MUSIC
On Basis of Intensification Principle

ATTRIBUTES OF MUSIC	STATE INTENSIFICATION CRITERIA	
a) Repetition Process Dimension		
- types of repetition (cf. table 8, Ch. 5)	- kinds of intensification	
1) Reiteration, restatements	→ Reinforcement, Clarification	of state of arousal
2) Insertion - recurrence	→ Amplification, Enhancement	
3) Multiple repetition	→ Increase, culmination	
b) Acoustic Presentation Dimension		
1) Accentuation	→ Secondary intensification (supplementary to repetition)	
2) Acceleration		
3) "Actions"		

belongs at the bottom where no or little arousal is present. It also serves the simple physical clarification of a message where an audience is noisy. Insertion-recurrence generally presupposes that some reiteration has already taken place and some enthusiasm or mild arousal is present. Multiple reptition, finally, implies intense arousal and even ecstasy.

There are a few non-structural attributes of the musical idiom which also serve the expression of intensification as related to spiritual states and their management; two are aspects of acoustic presentation and therefore can be employed simultaneously to underscore repetition, particularly multiple repetition. One constitutes the prototype of repetition--strong rhythmic accentuation in which the existing beat pattern is emphasized by extra heavy drum beats or by more frequent accentuation in the form of drum accents or handclaps (beating or clapping "double"). As explained in Chapter 3 and outlined on Tables 3 and 6, the Qawwali durational framework already contains these basic ingredients of rhythmic intensification, so that here they need merely to be placed in the context of the performer's intensification strategy.

The second intensifying device performers use deliberately to make multiple repetition more effective is very gradual acceleration. Both devices are used sparingly, because they retain their effectiveness only in contrast to the unaccented or unaccelerated norms respectively. Thus, performers like to reserve them for high-intensity repetition. Also, these devices not only aren't textual but can interfere acoustically with the text message; therefore Sufis consider their excessive use inappropriate, if not vulgar, and the aware performer restricts their use accordingly, though he may choose to fire on a common audience with their help.

Finally, there is a non-acoustic as well as non-structural intensifier: the performer's gestures and facial expressions, collectively called "actions" by performers and Sufis. Their use, even more than that of the other two non-structural intensifiers, is subject to strict constraints by Sufis. Though they may be used judiciously at early stages of arousal in the audience, their excess is seen as a distortion of the spiritual message to a personal, human level (see Ch. 7: 164).

On the basis of the link established by the criterion of intensification between audience arousal and repetition, different types of repetition represent different stages of arousal and constitute an appropriate response to them. But the performer's strategy consists of more than responding to listeners' states; he is as much concerned with evoking such states. This means that he may in fact use repetition expressing intense arousal before such arousal is actually present, in order to evoke it. As a result, the use of all repetition becomes far more flexible, for it continuously reflects both initiative and response to the states of the audience. This flexibility is greatest at the lowest levels of arousal, for once intense arousal or ecstasy occur, the rules of Sufism give the performer little choice but to sustain that state by multiple repetititon. On the other hand, where no or little arousal is present, he is likely to run the gamut of repetition. Starting with reiteration, he hopes to increase the enthusiasm for a message unit, perhaps by underscoring it with appropriate "actions". His next move will be to introduce amplifying text inserts between recurring statements of the repeat unit or to float the occasional melodic or rhythmic insert to impress sophisticated listeners. Most of all, where intense arousal can be anticipated at all, the performer will top off either reiteration or recurrence after a text insert with multiple repetition, intensified by rhythmic accents, if appropriate.

No less a motivation for multiple repetition is the performer's hope to get offerings following an effective reiterated text unit or, even more, an appropriate insert. Continuing repetition serves to invite and facilitate the mechanics of multiple offerings. Indeed, once offerings are coming, no matter what level of arousal stimulates them, the performer will keep up multiple repetition of the text unit that generated them, hoping for more.

So far it has been shown that the dynamic principle which underlies the listener's state of arousal is intensification, and that this principle is also expressed musically in the form of repetition, the principal structuring device of Qawwali music in performance. This makes it possible for the performer to apply the principle of intensification as a semantic referent between audience and music: he uses it to assess the state of his listeners and accordingly selects an appropriate type of musical intensification. Since this intensification takes the form of repetition, he thereby also structures the song.

3. Repeat Unit Identification

For the sake of analytical clarity, intensification has so far been dealt with in isolation, so as to identify it as the principal semantic referent operating between audience and music during the performance process--and also to interpret it in parallel terms to the referents for setting factors (i.e., status and identity). However, this does not complete the interaction process between audience and music yet. While applying the intensification principle to music results in the identification of the appropriate structuring process, i.e. repetition, it leaves open the question of what unit of structure is to be repeated.

As recalled earlier, he process leading to the decision to repeat takes place at the same time as, and with reference to the ongoing song performance, starting as soon as the song is selected and continuing to its end. As outlined in Chapter 3 (pp. 63 ff) and summarised on Table 7, a Qawwali song performance proceeds on the basis of structural units derived from the text which are all repeatable. The performer, recognizing the need for comprehensibility and immediacy in conveying the Qawwali message, follows a norm of proceeding line by line, restating each line in sequence and then repeating the entire verse. Line segments are repeated only to emphasize special phrases. Listeners, in accordance with the function of Qawwali, express states of arousal in response to these units of content, as they hear the performers sing them. Given the immediacy of the listener's response, it is logical for the performer to identify as the repeat unit whatever he is singing at the point he perceives the response. Normally--and in conformity with the performer's expectation--that unit is a verse line, and it is this verse line the performer proceeds to repeat, occasionally adding a restatement of the entire verse to complete the message.

Following this standard process, then, the performer arrives at the unit of repetition by the simple timing of the listener's response. In analytical terms, this means that by its very occurrence a response expressing arousal identifies the unit of repeat in addition to signalling the need for repetition as such. The same is the case for the offering response where the performer will automatically identify and then repeat the same verse line during which an offering is first made.

While standard procedure, this process of unit identification is nevertheless not invariable for the performer. Given the unpredictable quality and individualized outward expression of spiritual arousal, the performer's standard assumption regarding the correct repeat unit may not correspond to the listener's requirement. To correct his perception--or to confirm it--the performer therefore expands the process of unit identification by monitoring the listener's outward expressions for relevant signals. Such signals may be contained within the range of expressive responses at an implicit level; they also take the form of explicit reference through verbal requests or even commands.

Table 36 presents an overview of the types of identification signals available to the performer along with the range of their physical manifestation. The three types of signals fall into two distinct categories. On one hand there are signals basically expressing the state of arousal while at the same time referring--directly or indirectly--to the message statement which is sustaining the response. In this case, the particular outward manifestation of the general inner state may

TABLE 36: · REPEAT UNIT IDENTIFICATION*: EVALUATION OF CONTEXT

With Reference to Ongoing Musical Message Statement

Expressive Response as Signal		Signal Evaluation
I. Signalling Responses (Utterances)	i. e.	Direct Response to Message Statement
face expression, arm/hand move exclamation, verbal expression nodding symbolizing gestures (cf. Table 20) offering	→	approve: "I like this, hence repeat it."
(response discontinued	→	disapprove: "I don't like this one, hence repeat another one.")
II. Emotive Responses (Utterances)	=	Indirect Response to Message Statement (through expression of resultant state)
weep, shout move abruptly get up, dance, etc.	→	approve: "I am strongly moved, hence keep repeating."
(response discontinued	→	disapprove: "I am not moved now, hence repeat another one.")
III. Referential Response as Signal	=	Direct Message
verbal statement/command	→	request/confirm: "repeat this" correct: "don't repeat this, repeat that."

* While subject to the same process of context evaluation and musical expression, Repeat Unit Identification is not an independent semantic referent but merely an operational requirement adjunct to the referent of Spiritual State/Intensification.

convey communicative content over and above expressing a degree of spiritual arousal. Listed in Boxes I and II on Table 36, the two types of signals more or less coincide with the stage of incipient and intense arousal or ecstasy respectively. During incipient arousal it is through signalling responses, including symbolic gestures, that approval or disapproval of the repeat unit is communicated to the performer. Once a state of intense arousal has been reached, the manifestations of the state are entirely expressive, not referential, so that it is the unambiguous intensity that links the response more clearly to the unit of content. This becomes altogether self-evident at the extreme stage of ecstasy, where repetition of a clearly identified message unit is already presupposed and simply needs to be continued as long as the expressive utterance lasts.

The other category comprises the type of signals listed in Box III on Table 36: a direct verbal message of referential communication which may or may not have any expressive content. Such direct requests or assertion of control are normally limited to listeners with high spiritual status, except where a state of intense arousal gives even a lowly devotee the spiritual justification to assert his wish or need.

The performer monitors all these signals throughout the performance and realizes them musically in a process which is schematized on Table 37. Analytically speaking, this process of repeat unit identification constitutes yet another semantic referent for linking audience and music in the performance process. Closely related to the primary performance goal, intensification, it in fact serves that goal by leading to the identification of the message unit that operates as the tool of

TABLE 37: REPEAT UNIT IDENTIFICATION: EXPRESSION IN MUSIC

Signal Content*	Musical Repeat Unit Identified
a) Referential Response:	
- confirm	→ repeat ongoing unit
- request	→ repeat new/suggested unit
- correct	→ repeat new/suggested unit
b) Signalling Response:	
- approve	→ repeat ongoing unit
- disapprove	→ try different unit (same couplet, different line, part of line, entire verse)
c) Emotive Response:	
- approve	→ repeat ongoing unit
- disapprove	→ return to previous unit, find unit with impact

* In order of decreasing specificity

intensification.

As in the case of intensification, however, the use of this referent does not merely translate a listener's needs into musical expression, by means of identifying for repetition the text unit that is affecting him. Rather, the performer also tries to stimulate such an impact by himself singling out for repetition text units with a known appeal. How the performer uses both audience-music referents "in reverse" is in fact a major aspect of the interaction process in performance. A systematic consideration of this strategy is therefore in order before proceeding to analyse the performance in its total context of a multiple audience.

Both intensification and unit identification, the semantic referents underlying the process of performance, operate by translating audience states and requirements into musical expression, or, stated more generally, context into music. In turn, then, the music, by giving expression to those contextual aspects, confirms or intensifies them. Since the musical idiom is semantically capable of such expression, it is equally possible for the performer to generate with it the same semantic content independently, not in response to, but in anticipation of corresponding audience reactions. Examples of this "reverse" strategy abound, especially in the form of text unit selections, whether for repetition or for inserts. Predictably, the performers use it most of all to generate offerings. To the extent that this strategy represents initiative on the performer's side, it is always open to criticism and even censure from the assembly leader, especially when he uses it all too obviously for his material objective. If, on the other hand, he hits just the right note, generating enthusiasm, particularly in the spiritual notables present, then he is praised for his ability to perceive correctly the "colour of the assembly" (mahfil kā rang dekhnā, DL: 12). Observation suggests that consistently successful performers take a good amount of initiative of this sort, informed, of course, by a continual assessment of their audience, and tempered by immediate responsiveness to their reaction. This aspect of the Qawwali performance brings the Qawwal in line with any other type of performer whose initiative is ultimately responsible for his success.

Referent 4: Selective Focus

1. Evaluation of Context

The stage is now set to proceed to the performance in its total context of a multiple audience with whom the performer interacts over time. Three semantic referents have been identified as to their function and domain, and their interrelation or intersection has been outlined. All aspects of the context-music relationship have been mapped out in terms of a one-to-one interaction between performer and listener. This procedure is entirely in tune with the individual basis of the Sufi quest as well as its realization. Indeed, even where many listeners are present, the performer in principle always interacts with individual members of his audience, even though he is dealing with the entire body. How he copes with this requirement of multiple interaction in fact, and what results from it musically remains to be dealt with in order to complete this analytical consideration of the performance process.

The performer faces an entire audience of individuals who respond to his singing on an individual basis, expressing their respective states of arousal. These, as has been shown, require different types of musical responses--in accord with the basic function of Qawwali: to arouse listeners by serving their diverse and changing needs. The range of needs is essentially the same for all listeners; only they arise at different times during a performance. But what it takes to satisfy the same need may differ between listeners, depending on their particular status and identity as well as their personal preference.

What the performer has at his disposal for responding to this multiplicity of needs is in essence one channel of communication albeit a composite and structurally very flexible one: the Qawwali musical idiom. The structural flexibility occurs at all levels of the musical idiom, but it is determined at the level of the text. True, the musical setting and, to a lesser extent, the performance style can be varied independently of the text, but the application of this musical and presentational flexibility occurs essentially at the point of the song selection. Once a song is under way, the total constellation of text, music and presentation remain constant, with only a limited scope left for variation in the area of melodic and rhythmic elaboration or of presentational emphasis.

In essence, then, the performer can only make one musical response at any one point in time, using the structuring options that govern the idiom both as regards text units and their musical equivalents. What these options do permit him is the flexibility to switch between structural units instantly. He can thereby not only accommodate the changing needs of one individual but also respond to the differing needs of several, though doing so in immediate succession rather than simultaneously.

The range and number of alternative options available for use to respond to different listeners in turn is, however, limited, given the structural and stylistic parameters of any one song. In practical terms, this means that at any one time the number of listeners a performer can cater to specifically has to be limited. Clearly, a selection process operates to identify those listeners whose needs are to be given first consideration. Two criteria of assessment are already established which rank the individual listener on a continuum, each of a different sort. One is spiritual status, the other spiritual state of arousal (spiritual identity cannot contribute to this assessment directly, since it is not applied against a continuum that would serve as a ranking scale). The performer uses the two criteria in conjunction with each other to make his selections in a process that continues throughout the performance.

To begin with, he has already assessed his audience according to general status categories as well as to individual status. On the basis of this categorization, then, the performer individually monitors all special listeners, including of course the leader, while keeping only a casual eye on the common audience. He does this monitoring by applying the criterion of spiritual state, evaluating expressive as well as offering responses in terms of the continuum of increasing arousal. At the same time, the performer is continuously aware of the relative spiritual status position of each listener thus evaluated. The result is a combined state and status assessment according to which he can rank all listeners. This ranking procedure is schematized in Table 38, where numericaly values represent the relative rank or degree of priority

TABLE 38: SELECTIVE FOCUS REFERENT: EVALUATION OF CONTEXT

Based on Status and State Referents
and Ranked Accordingly

Focus* derived from State + Status Referents

	STATUS		
STATE	leader, top rep.	special category	common category
neutral	4. priority focus	3. plural focus	1. collective focus
incipient arousal	↓	↓	↓
intense arousal	6. single focus	5. priority focus	2. plural focus
ecstasy	9. single focus	8. single focus	7. single focus

*Legend

Numerical Values 1 to 9:	represent lowest to highest degree of priority assigned to state/status combinations
Focus Types:	
(Collective Focus	No individual catering)
Plural Focus	Cater to several listeners by turn, equal attention (maximum 5-6, usually no more than 3)
Priority Focus	Cater to plural needs but give priority to one
Single Focus	Cater to single listener, disregarding all others (audience usually focussed on single person)

assigned to each combined state-status category. It is in relation to these combined state-status categories that the performer then decides on one of the three types of selective focus for his musical response. As Table 38 shows clearly, there is a consistent correlation between status category and type of focus accorded by the performer; the pattern is broken only at the stage of extreme arousal. There, every listener, from leader to common backbencher, is accorded sole attention by the performer. While this represents the stage to be given highest priority, the performer often prefers the less intense stages which allow him to shift his focus between a number of high status listeners. The obvious reason is economic: it generally results in more earnings. Having to cater to a single person in an ecstatic state may yield definite blessings, but economically it can be risky, especially where a low status person is in ecstasy.

2. Expression in Music

What effect does the performer's selective focus have on the shape of the song being performed? The only new elements introduced are the simultaneous catering to several listeners and the quick shift from one listener to another. Musically, both are handled as successive shifts of focus, as has been mentioned (p. 285), so that the performer who wishes to satisfy the needs of more than one listener at once will do so by repeating or emphasizing the musical units desired by each in close alternation. Shifts in the selective focus itself further add to the flexibility of musical structuring which is already serving to cater to the changing needs of the individual listener. In sum, what is added by the multiple audience dimension is the motivation for more flexibility, simply because more factors are thereby identified and isolated. For the performer, this means making more choices, but within the basic range of options already established to deal with the individual listener. Hence, the effect of the selective focus dimension on the musical performance can only be seen in conjunction with that of the other criteria of audience evaluation.

C Summary

This completes the analytical reduction of the context-music interaction process. Four salient principles have been shown to operate as semantic referents, each used by the performer to link context evaluation with musical expression. Individual referents have also been considered in relation to each other: in the case of referents 3 and 4--spiritual state and selective focus--, where this relationship is particularly relevant, the operation of one has been plotted in conjunction with the other. As for incorporating all referents and their music-context application into one comprehensive model, that is a task beyond the scope of this study and its essentially musicological focus.

What the musicological focus requires is that the results of the analysis--which focusses essentially on the interaction between context and music--should now be considered from the perspective of the music, thus putting these findings to their intended use of explaining how context affects music. This change of perspective is best represented graphically, in the form of tables. Tables 39 and 40 show at two levels how the process of structuring Qawwali music in performance is affected by the context by means of the four semantic referents--and, by

TABLE 39: PERFORMANCE MODEL QAWWALI SONG: CONTEXT INPUT

Music Varies According to Context

		Text Dimension	Music Dimension	Presentation Dimension
STRUCTURAL DIMENSION		Language varies: acc. to status (1a) Style varies: acc. to status (1a) Content varies: acc. to identity (1a) acc. to state (3b) Association varies: acc. to identity (2a) acc. to state (3b)	tune type varies: acc. to status (1a) rhythm type varies: acc. to status (1a)	performance style varies: acc. to status (1a)
PROCESS DIMENSION	cf. text structure above	(same) unit of repetition varies: acc. to state (3a) (observed or desired) acc. to sel. focus (4b) insert varies: (acc. to state (3a) (observed or desired) acc. to status (1a) acc. to identity (2a) word call signals vary: acc. to status (1b) acc. to identity (2a)	type of repetition varies: acc. to state (3a) (observed or desired) acc. to sel. four (4b) unit of repetition varies: acc. to state (3b) (observed or desired) acc. to sel. focus (4b) insert - melodic varies: acc. to status (1a) elaboration varies: acc. to status (1a)	accentuation varies: acc. to state (3a) acceleration varies acc. to state (3a) actions vary acc. to state (3b)

* LEGEND:

1 Status

2 Identity

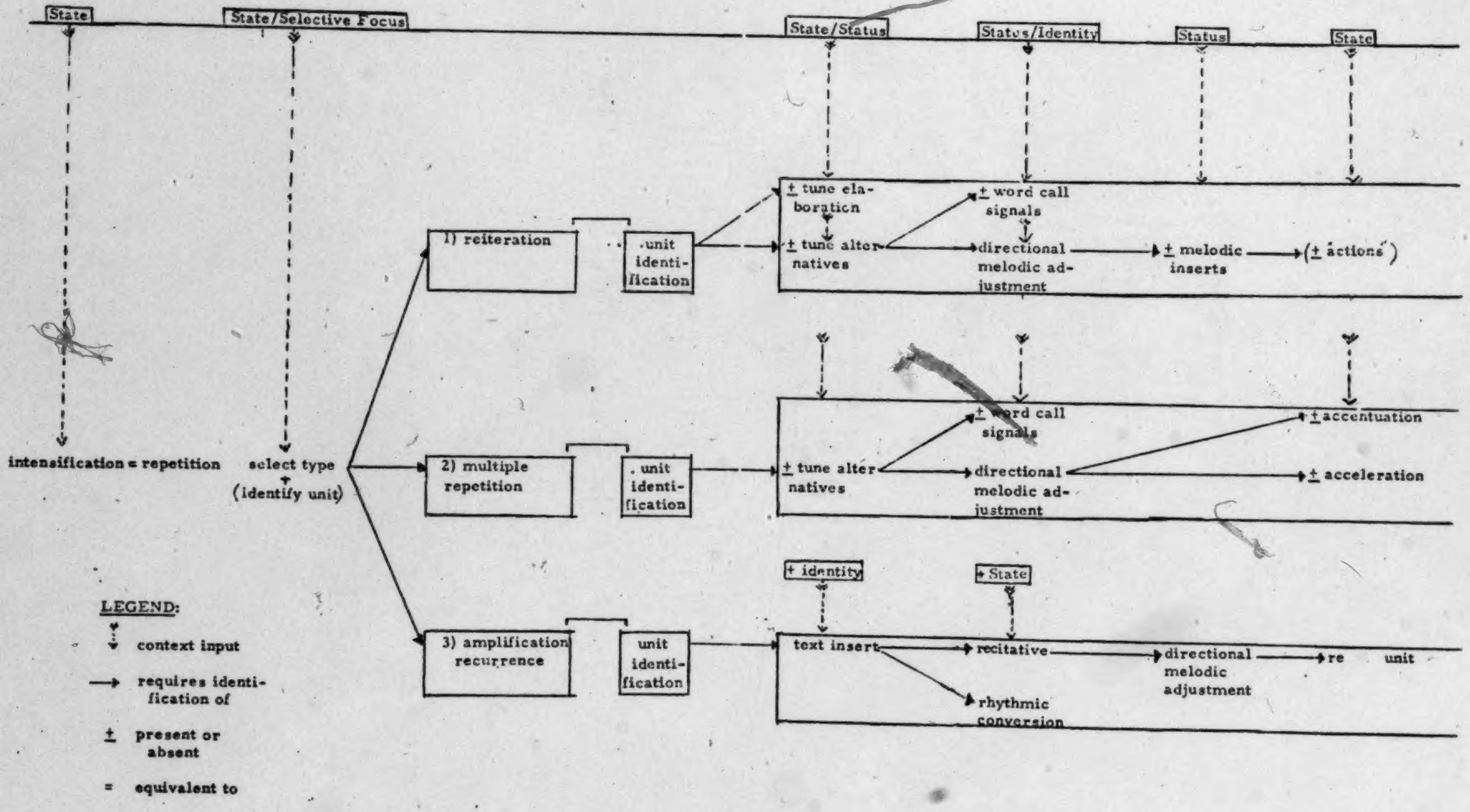
3 State of arousal

4 Selective focus

a Primary cause

b Secondary cause

TABLE 40: PERFORMANCE PROCESS QAWWALI SONG: CONTEXT INPUT
Via Semantic Referents


State
State/Selective Focus
State/Status
Status/Identity
Status
State
intensification = repetition
select type
(identify unit)
1) reiteration
unit identification
± tune elaboration
± tune alternatives
± word call signals
directional melodic adjustment
± melodic inserts
(± actions)
2) multiple repetition
unit identification
± tune alternatives
± word call signals
directional melodic adjustment
± accentuation
± acceleration
+ identity
+ State
3) amplification recurrence
unit identification
text insert
recitative
rhythmic conversion
directional melodic adjustment
re unit
LEGEND:
context input
requires identification of
± present or absent
= equivalent to

implication, their specific operation, as explained earlier in this chapter. Table 39 presents a model of the performance idiom, showing how individual features are constrained by means of the four semantic referents. In Table 40 the performance process is schematized, showing how the same contextual input--via the semantic referents--affects the shape of a song unfolding in performance.

The visual summary contained in these tables, backed up by the foregoing analysis and the entire preceding investigation of the Qawwali performance process, sufficiently explains and illustrates "the musical application of the contextual constraints of 'changing audience demands'", as demanded in Chapter 3 (p. 69). Both tables together contain the jist of what answer this analysis has been able to provide to the question posed at the outset; i.e., "how the musical sounds (of Qawwali) which musicologists can set out as abstract rules are communited in practice" (Ch. 1:2).

What remains is to formally complete a context-sensitive grammar of Qawwali which incorporates the entire contextual input, both as manifested in the distinctive features (Ch. 3 B) and in the performance interaction (Ch. 10). On the basis of the analytical presentation of these two aspects and their visual summaries on Tables 6 and 39/40 respectively, it should be possible to construct such a grammar with reference to the musical framework (Ch. 3 A) and expand the Standard Model of Qawwal music (Tables 7-11) accordingly. That, however, will have to be the result of a more formally oriented study. The information for it is all laid out, but the task of formalizing it into a single scheme is too formidable to be undertaken here.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study has attempted to introduce the dimension of performance into the analysis of musical sound, with the specific aim of demonstrating how the context of performance affects the music being performed. For this purpose an analytical approach was developed on the basis of a theoretical framework encompassing both musicology and anthropology. This essentially anthropological approach was then applied to the Qawwali focussing on the idiom and context of performance and arriving at an integrated analysis of the two in the performance process. The outcome in terms of the theoretical aim, is a set of contextual dimensions that serve as a grid for the contextual input into the music, so that this input can be incorporated into an analytical model of the performance idiom. At a more basic level, such an operation has required approaching musical sound analysis from a perspective compatible with the anthropological analysis of context. This was done by analysing the sound structure itself with reference to the a priori contextual constraints operating upon it, and then dealing with the operationalization of this structure through a contextual analysis of the musical process.

The outcome of this effort appears to validate substantively the initial hypothesis, at least for the musical tradition analysed here, the Qawwali. This validation rests on the conclusion that contextual variables are identified and given expression through significant musical variables. The process of translating one into the other has been found to be based on criteria of interpretation that function as semantic referents for the context-music interaction. Those referents have been shown to operate in a particular way, contingent upon relevant factors of ideological and socio-economic import as mediated by the performer. How specifically the process works is illustrated in the Ethnographic Section which at the same time provides concrete exemplification for the findings of the analysis. As a final step, the results of the analysis have been incorporated into the music analysis of Qawwali, thus rendering the musical grammar context-sensitive, enabling the reader to account for Qawwali as encountered in performance and even to generate--at least in theory--such a performance himself.

If the premises of the analysis are accepted,then this approach constitutes a means of dealing with both sound and context, thereby proposing an application of the ethnomusicological postulate that the contextual dimension must be introduced into the analysis of music.

Looking back on the entire analytical procedure it is relevant at this point to examine the validity of the analytical approach in terms of the results obtained for Qawwali music. Such an assessment is necessary before the crucial question of its wider applicability can be considered.

Starting with the most basic level of validity for an analysis, that of ethnographic validity, this analysis has been clearly related to its ethnographic roots at all stages. In addition, the availability of unanalysed data has made possible the continuous ethnographic testing of the ongoing analysis. This, of course, does not constitute independent evidence--that would have to be arrived at independently, and, indeed, an ultimate validation may well elude any investigation of this sort. For there is one claim for which all theoretical and analytical rigor can achieve no more than partial validation: the claim to control the variable of the performer's strategy or intent. While neither performers nor analyst had an illusion about the ultimate elusiveness of this factor, even during the investigation, the point needs here to be made in order to place the resulting findings into the human perspective of individual autonomy and unpredictability.

The validity of the analytical approach itself must be considered with reference to the goal and method of the analysis as well as its actual results. An analytical framework of both musicology and anthropology has proved to be appropriate to the goal set, each at its own level. These levels of applicability are reflected already in the theoretical discussion in Chapter 1: musiciology is applicable at the formal descriptive level of dealing with sound and its analysis: anthropology at the substantive, analytical level of providing the entire theoretical basis as well as the appropriate analytical tools for an approach that links music with context in analysis. Indeed, this thesis may therefore be considered a contribution to ethnomusicology, the field that claims such a joint intellectual parentage although, substantively speaking, it consists of anthropological thinking applied to music and incorporating musicological thinking into that application.

It has been the goal of this study to add to the scope of musicology, i.e. the analysis of musical sound, by expanding it to deal with musical process, i.e. the process of performance. Demonstrating the relevance of the contextual dimension to the programming of this process, the analysis proposes a procedure for actually incorporating contextual variables into the analysis of musical sound. By itself, this represents not much more than a formal expansion of the musicological model, as long as such variables pertain to music structure. This is shown by the use of functional variables in the analysis of distinctive features of the Qawwali musical structure. However, when contextual input is introduced into a music sound analysis to account for process, it makes the music very immediately dependent upon the context at every moment of its creation in performance. Because there is variability in the contextual cues as well as in the musical choices made in response, the contextual input can only be represented in terms of the flexible principles that govern this variability at each end. The basis on which these principles operate is semantic.

It is at this point that meaning enters the analysis of music, for it is meaning that puts consistency into the selection and correlation of variables, contextual and musical. As stated, the process of a performer making musical choices on the basis of contextual cues is a process of translation, he is translating meaning. And the meaning, as clearly emerges from the Qawwali analysis, is essentially non-musical, perceived by the performer in the context of performance, and expressed or responded to in the musical performance. To understand this translation processs to know the meaning system, both at the level of context and music. Obviously, this task goes beyond the scope of musicology, (although cues to meaning in music can be found in systems of musical aesthetics where they apply--in Qawwali they do not). The fact is that the semantic content, even of music, appears to be found outside of music, for the dynamic that ultimately motivates the context-to-music input can only be understood with reference to the socio-cultural framework of which the musical tradition--and the actors in it--are a part. This is why what is essentially a music analysis has to delve so extensively into the contextual and background dimensions. For it is within the framework of these dimensions that the music of Qawwali communicates social meaning.

Considering the Qawwali musical language from this perspective one can say that the context-linked traits are the ones that make Qawwali music distinct from other closely related musical idioms of North India and Pakistan. Furthermore, the basic features of this musical idiom are relatively limited in number and complexity. This corresponds perfectly to the limited role the musician actually plays in shaping the Qawwali event. The most prominent feature of the music, its variable structure, is controlled not by the musician but by the listeners, although indirectly. The findamental question that arises from these facts is whether type and number of musical features in Qawwali may in fact be related to the type of social relations that govern the participants and the amount of musical message the performer has in his power to transmit. In general terms, this suggests that the semantic dimension of Qawwali music, if not of other types of music, needs to be explored from a social-structural perspective. Clearly, the explanatory power inherent in this approach to music analysis constitutes its own best validation, and that power rests in the concrete results the approach generates.

There is one central question of validity in the analytical approach that arises directly from the socio-economic background context of

Qawwali: the question whether centering the entire performance process analysis on the performer has not resulted in a distorted picture, especially given his socially, economically and religiously depressed position in Qawwali. To an extent it has been a fallacious western-centric premise that the artist is the catalyst of the musical event since at the surface he does generate the stimulus or dynamic for the audience to respond. But in Qawwali it becomes clear, once the interaction between them is analysed from the perspective of the socio-economic structure, that the Qawwal's musical choices themselves are largely predicated on what he perceives to be the audience's will. Thus social dependence means musical dependence. What, then are the implications of this dependence on the decision to build the analysis of Qawwali around the musician? Since he is both the exclusive maker of the music and the perceiver of the audience responses, focussing on the musician and his strategy of performance has certainly provided a key to dealing with the music-context relationship in an analytically clean way. It has, at the same time, also make it possible to avoid the conceptual fallacy--common in structural-functionalist analysis--of presenting a bird's eye, or analyst's, view of a performance process which is really a composite of the perceptions and actions of its different participants. However, the dependent position of the performer has required a considerable ethnographic emphasis on those participants and structural elements on which he depends; indeed, this emphasis arises from the performer's very vantage point of dependence.

To validate the decision of predicating the analysis on the performer by putting him "in perspective" socio-culturally is, however, no more than an operational decision. There still remains the more fundamental question whether any single vantage point can generate knowledge that is more than a point of view predicated on the demands that originate with that vantage point; whether indeed the knowledge of a musical event--or any event--must not be derived from a view in the round; whether such a view is epistemologically possible; and whether ultimately knowledge is indeterminate. Here is not the place to delve into this issue but only to raise it, as a backdrop agains which to view the limitations of an analytical endeavour such as this study of Qawwali.

Having acknowledged the problematic of establishing the validity of this analysis at a substantive level, it may nevertheless be suggested that the approach should be useful operationally beyond the specific musical system analysed here, at least in terms of its basic postulates. The most appropriate starting point for testing such a claim would be other musical performance traditions within the Indian culture area. Indeed, the presence of common basic musical and contextual features in related performance traditions makes them a particularly promising target for applying the same approach. India abounds in a great variety of clearly defined contexts for musical performance which form part of the "cultural performance" tradition central to social and cultural life; it is therefore an ideal ethnographic domain for further refining the analysis of the performance process. Within this domain, common features of socio-economic structure also make it possible to adapt the same analytical framework governing both contextual background and occasion of performance. The same applies to the music, so that such an analysis can then be incorporated into the already existing indigenous framework of musical sound concepts. On this basis the Qawwali analysis can serve as a prototype for the analysis of other Indian performance traditions.

From the specific perspective of Indian Musicology, I visualize that further applications of this contextual approach could contribute directly toward refining the concept of an Indian music area, with its related musical idioms--analogous with the existing concept of an Indian language area. Here a basic musical framework underlies two supra-regional musical languages, i.e. classical and popular music, as well as a number of regional, communal or functional musical dialects, i.e. Qawwali and others. The prospect of analysing these idioms on the basis of context-related features and thus accounting for the musical differences between them is a promising one. It is in this area of analysing musical variation in performance where Indian musiciology may thus lead the way to new advances in musicology generally.

As the the applicability of this model outside the Indian area the logical place to start are musical cultures that have a verbalized theory. From the perspective of music analysis this makes Western musical traditions appear suitable for this type of analysis. However, there is no doubt that Western performance occasions and their socio-cultural background context will be found to generate a different type of dynamic to motivate the contextual input to the music, which in turn will be manifested in different semantic referents. The special problem to be considered in Western music is that of the alienation of the music maker from his audience. This starts in the classical tradition with precomposed music into which the composer already incorporates contextual input, in anticipation of its actual performance, leaving the performer a minimal area of musical variability to do the same in response to the live context. The alienation of the performer from the context of performance becomes complete under the influence of recording technology and industry, where all kinds of music, even the most functionally context-linked, end up by being subject to total pre-control. This constitutes a qualitatively different, more total subordination of the performer to socio-economic controls, leading to the crucial question whether the maker of te music is still a performer even when he does not control the sounds the audience hears. In the light of this question, the Qawwali model would certainly have to be modified; however, even if the very concept of performance context and performer may need to be redefined, this does not mean that the same basic postulate is not testable, i.e. that the music is constrained by its context of performance, varying with contextual variation in accordance to semantic referents that convey socio-cultural meaning. To carry out an analysis of a western musical tradition on the basis of this hypothesis may involve dealing with more complexly organized and articulated relationships, but that would not alter the process of analysis substantively.

Finally, there are the majority of the world's musical systems lacking a musical theory or even verbalized conceptualizations about music. Can the approach used for Qawwali contribute to the analysis of such music in performance? There is no reason why music, like any communication system, cannot be subject to elicitation and systematization in terms that are appropriate to the culture's own meaning system. Such a process of elicitation can be pursued just as languages and other meaning systems can be elicited; the process will simply take more time, patience and musical sensitivity than most researchers can put out. The important point is that such elicitation has to be governed by a conceptual model to make it useable analytically. The investigation of contextual constraints for the identification of distinctive or salient musical features in Qawwali adumbrates a promising approach for this purpose. To identify such features without reference to a pre-existing musical theory or grammar is theoretically possible; their identification may even be facilitated by the absence or pre-established musical categorizations. On the other hand, context-derived features alone can never account for, let alone programme, a piece of music, simply because such features only represent a small part of the total musical system. Every musical system, no matter how simple, consists of a culturally prescribed sound structure--units and rules--with only certain variables governed by contextual meaning. Thus to actually programme music, the entire system has to be accounted for analytically. That the Qawwali analysis does not claim to do, although it does provide a framework which can be used for a systematic analysis of musical sound, provided some musical conceptualizations supply the necessary clues to its application. How to get at such conceptualizations in the absence of a musical theory is another question, to be considered in a different context.

What, then can be concluded about the wider applicability of the approach taken in this analysis of Qawwali music? I do believe that this approach may provide a means of explaining how musical systems are used in performance on the basis of contextual meaning. It remains for further applications to show whether this indeed is a first step toward a general theory of musical performance.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SECTION

QAWWALI AT NIZAMUDDIN AULIYA

Because of the special need for clarity in the analysis of an interactional process as complex and multidimensional as Qawwali, ethnographic exemplification has been left out of it entirely. This Ethnographic Section is meant to provide concrete evidence for what has been presented in the abstract, in the form of a coherent ethnographic account of Qawwali music in context, centering on the Qawwali performer.

At the core are examples of actual performances in which the performer's strategies, based on his assessment of the performance context, can be seen reflected in the song he is performing. To follow this process in actuality, however, requires familiarity with the particular song as well as the particular contextual setting, and of course with the performer as well. Accordingly, I have attempted to integrate the examples as far as possible, using material from the performance process examples to illustrate the musical idiom as well as the performance context. This means that the particular songs and their performance events which constitute the examples of the performance process are also shown as examples of the Qawwali performance idiom and the Qawwali performance occasion respectively, so that they will have been described adequately and placed in their respective context by the time they are seen as interacting dimensions in the performance process.

As for the performer, who is the hub of the entire interaction, his background and repertoire are crucial to an understanding of his strategies. In order to best present concrete evidence of the musical and contextual range that characterizes Qawwali, the performance examples --and hence the core song and context examples--are linked through one performer who has performed each of the core songs, and in each of the core contexts. In addition, the performance versions of other performers are added to provide a focus on the performing community as well.

The one performer is Meraj Ahmad Nizami, affiliated with the shrine of Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi. The core songs are part of his repertoire and shared by his lineage group; the core performance events are those traditionally held at the Nizamuddin shrine; and the core performances were recorded there. Together, then, these Exemplifications also constitute a capsule ethnography of Qawwali in this important Sufi centre, although the larger ethnographic context of Qawwali is touched upon as well.

A second, important purpose of the Ethnographic Section is to account for the analysis the audido-visual data (/video recorded performances) which has constituted an important--and somewhat novel--tool for this study. This purpose is best served by a graphic presentation of the two methods developed for transcribing and interpreting the Qawwali performance process from video recordings, along with a verbal explanation of the interaction thus transcribed. Presented and discussed in Performances 1 and 2 below, the two methods of transcription yield two types of visual representation of the interplay between music and context. The first type--the graph--provides an accurate visual recordd of audience behavior as it occurs in response to the ongoing song performance which provides the temporal axis for plotting that behavior.

The second type--the chart-- traces the interaction between the musician's ongoing performance decisions and the audience responses as he perceives them; along with the resulting song sequence. The two notational system are thus, complimentary in emphasis: the graph effectively portrays the complexity of multiple audience responses while the chart focusses on the interactional dynamic of the performance. Yet the particulars of each system convey the same general notion of the highly context-constrained nature of Qawwali. The entire Ethnographic Section, culminating in Performances 1 and 2, is built to provide the reader with the concrete, detailed evidence for reaching this conclusion.

A The Shrine and Its Performers

The Nizamuddin Auliya Shrine

The shrine (dargah) of Nizamuddin Auliya is one of India's great centres of Sufi tradition whose importance is further enhanced by its location in the capital city. Situated in what was once the walled village (bastī) of Nizamuddin, it is surrounded by the suburbs of New Delhi and within easy access from the old city. At the centre of the large compound of white marble stands the white marble tomb of the saint Nizamuddin Auliya, (d.1325), fourth in the line of spiritual descent from the founder saint of the Chishti silsila in India (see Table 2; for background cf. Nizami, K. 1973b, Nizami, P. n.d., Dehlavi 1964).

Standing near is the smaller tomb of his most famous disciple, Amir Khusrau, the great Sufi poet, and musical innovator (cf. Askari 1967, Mirza, 1935, Nizami, K. 1973a, Nizami, P. 1975, Sarmadee 1975). Numerous other tombs surround the shrine and the entire area. The compound also contains a large mosque and a bathing tank, and buildings or "cells" (*hujrā*) of various sizes surround it, many dating back to the time when the saint was living and teaching there.

The shrine is managed and controlled collectively by a group of descendants who trace their descent from the saint's nearest relatives (he never married). Called Pirzade (sing: *pīrzādā*, offspring of a Pir) they live in the *bastī* outside the shrine. They are organized into three operative family groups who share the income of the shrine from offerings made by devotees according to a complicated system of week-long "turns" (*bārī*, their holder is called *bārīdār*, for details see Dehlavi 1964). Individually, they act as agents or advocates (*wakīl*) to families of devotees and receive their personal offerings at the shrine. In addition, a number of *pīrzāde* are themselves spiritual guides or advisors, catering to seekers and Sufi devotees of various socio-economic levels. Most prominent among these are three leading figures, one of each family group, each of whom claims to be the sole legitimate successor of the saint (*sajjādānashīn*). Each has a personal following of disciples or devotees and uses one or more shrine cells to minister to them. Two of these leaders are the principal patrons of Qawwali occasions; Pir Zamin Nizami and Khwaja Hasan Nizami each own or control a large hall situated just outside the shrine and built expressly for large public Qawwali performances during *'urs* celebrations. Khwaja Hasan Nizami also manages the adjacent tomb of his own father who was a well known spiritual guide; he is the most committed of the three to maintaining the Qawwali tradition in face of changing conditions of patronage (cf. Ch. 5:99).

Also attached to the shrine are a number of service professionals--sweepers, water carriers, and, of course, Qawwals. While they have a hereditary right to their work and its rewards, they also stand in a dependent client relationship to the Pirzade insofar as the Pirzade control the shrine and all its activities and manage the devotees, who are the only source of income for all.

The prime activities of the shrine are the two anniversaries of Nizamuddin Auliya and Amir Khusrau which fall exactly six Islamic months apart, on the 17th of the Islamic months of Rabi-us-Sani and Shawal respectively. They are celebrated over five days with numerous Qawwali events and include ritual offerings to the saint in the form of special food blessed and dedicated to the saint and distributed publicly (tabarruk). The 'urs celebrations, along with the adjacent fair (melā) attract hundreds from Delhi and outside, in addition to the steady number of poor people who live in and around the shrine, benefitting from food offerings and charity.

Other annual events of local importance include Basant (Spring Festival, cf. p. 46 above), the anniversaries of Hazrat Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet and preceptor of Sufism, and of the Saint's own spiritual guide, Baba Farid, as well as the weekly Thursday and--less regularly--Friday Qawwali. All these include proper Qawwali performances. Monthly ritual days (khatam), finally, are simply occasions for a food offering and one or two ritual Qawwali songs.

A special aspect of the Nizamuddin shrine is its total lack of any property endowments. The only income therefore, even for the Pirzade, comes from offerings and gifts. On the other hand, there is a great political potential to be utilized in this capital city of a state professing a secularism which is partly expressed in the official patronage of minority religions. Officials and functionaries therefore constitute important sources of direct and indirect support, as do foreign Muslim visitors. In general, visiting devotees can also benefit performers who may be singing in front of the tomb at the right time to receive their offerings, but it is the Pirzade who have direct access to their donations.

The Qawwal Bachche Performers

Parallel to the Pirzade there is a group of Qawwals who are attached to the Nizamuddin shrine by hereditary right. This means that they are entitled to perform at all shrine events and rituals and to sing for devoteees visiting the shrine at any time. In turn they are collectively responsible to provide Qawwali singing at all shrine rituals and at the anniversary celebrations in particular.

The 23 adult male members of this Qawwal community trace their descent to the original Qawwali singers trained by Amir Khusrau himself and known as *Qawwāl Baċhche*, "the (original) Qawwal Offsprings". Specifically they belong to several family groups (*k͟hāndān*), identified by their four towns of origin near Delhi (Dasna, Sikandarabad, Khurja, Hapar) and collectively belong to the same endogamous group or *brādrī* (i.e community of brothers, see Ansari 1960 and also Neuman 1974, Chs. 4 and 5). Professionally, their identity vis-a-vis the *dargah* is defined in terms of the lead singers of their family performing groups. Most illustrious among these is the group led in the past by Tan Ras Khan, the famous 19th century court singer, a *ḍāsnewālā* (from Dasna), Head of the Delhi Gawayya lineage (Neuman 1974: 109), his performing group has the traditional head position (*sar chaukī*) at performance events. Senior-most among his descendants is Meraj Ahmad Nizami, Bulbul-e-Chisht ("nightingale of Chisht", i.e. where the Chishti silsila originated), normally known as Meraj. "Nizami" indicates his attachment to the saint Nizamuddin Auliya, while Bulbul-e-Chisht is his honorific title conferred upon him by Khwaja Hasan Nizami, a leading spiritual guide and Khwaja Hasan Sani's father, many years back. Meraj is the chief informant and performer of the examples chosen for this study, who, as leader of his own party, is also the inheritor of the Tan Ras Khan pedigree.

While most Nizamuddin Qawwals live in Old Delhi, Meraj, along with a few of his close relatives, lives at the shrine where he and his wife with four young childred share a small one-room house built on a plot owned by Khwaja Hasan Sani, his patron. He is thus one of the few performers always present to sing at minor rituals and also to benefit from a generous visiting devotee. Of the others, only those with no other engagements--mostly the old men--come to the shrine on ordinary days (*sādhe din*), but on days with scheduled performances the entire group attends, though in varying numbers, depending on earning prospects and personal need.

For Meraj, as for all members of the *brādrī* (as the Qawwal Bachche informally call themselves) there are two kinds of singing engagements, *mushtar kā gānā* or *panchāyatī gānā* ("communal singing") and *bārī kā gānā* or *pārṭī kā gānā* ("singing by turn" or "party singing"). The first covers all singing directly in front of the shrine sanctuary., i.e. all ritual days as well as Thursday and Friday singing. In addition, there is ritual singing at the outset of all the Qawwali events held by individual saintly representatives at various other locations in and around the shrine. That ritual singing too, is communal, but is then followed by party singing for the bulk of the performance event.

The communal singing group is fluid; leading members, or a shrine representative present, assign on the spot who leads, but there may be competition both for fun or to "push down" (*ḍabānā*) an antagonistic colleague. The earnings from all communal singing are divided equally, strictly to those present at the time of receipt--i.e. Meraj becomes eligible for a share from the moment he sits down to sing, even if moments before a big offering has come in. Like all members of the group, he is sharp at instantly calculating the share for any number out of any amount of money. This is for self-protection, lest the money "get lost in the maze of the pickup man's fingers" (*unglīyoṅ ke bhūl bhulayye ban jāte haiṅ*, i.e. literally, the fingers become a maze or labyrinth --Meraj).

A somewhat different sharing system governs the big anniversaries at the shrine: all those who are present on the first evening are entitled to a share, even though with the many and simultaneous events everyone cannot or need not be present everywhere, as long as all ritual singing is carried out properly. The main point about *mushtar* singing is the equal right of each member to a share, as long as he contributes his part--this includes old men with failing voices and even the deaf mute son of a senior performer. For Meraj, as a lead performer with his own party, community singing is obviously a secondary source of income, although it does have the advantage of providing a baseline of more or less assured earnings.

Party singing is what counts for Meraj. He, like the three other parties in the brādrī, has an assured "turn" to perform in the various anniversary occasions led by the principal representatives at the shrine. His own patron among them, Khwaja Hasan Sani, gives him first place after the ritual singing, but that can be superseded on special occasions. Meraj also has a customary right to sing at various other annual assemblies or mahfils in and near Delhi as well as in shrines around Hyderabad where his ancestor Tan Ras Khan had settled. Such rights, however, are subject to validation by the assembly leader which entitles, but also obligates, the performer to attend.

Meraj's party always includes his younger brother Iqbal Ahmad Nizami who plays the ḍholak and sings well, so that the two brothers can perform as a complete team. In addition, Meraj normally adds a senior member, Nasiruddin Khan Gore, called Gore Khan, and one or two young relatives. Meraj controls his party and makes all performing decisions; he also takes a double share of the earnings, while giving equal share to the others, in accordance with the brādrī rules[9].

In general, for Meraj, as for other lead performers in the bradri, his close personal associates and relatives are also his keenest competitors. To a degree, the hereditary allocation of rights regulates their professional interaction, but they all need more work and performance opportunities are limited. Hence Meraj needs to cultivate his patron who will favour him over his colleagues and pass any private performing work to him (kām dilānā). As a special service, Meraj offers a weekly performance at the tomb of his patron's father.

Meraj is one of the few highly cultured Qawwali performers today who know and truly appreciate the repertoire of Sufi poetry along with their singing knowledge. Indeed, it is because of his intelligent understanding and remarkable memorey of Sufi poetry that his father chose to train him as a lead singer "giving him the harmonium" (i.e. to lead--bājā dediā), while his brother was made an accompanist, playing the drum, even though he had a far superior singing voice but could never remember or understand verses well. Meraj's sophistication and his exclusively Sufi orientation has also made it difficult for him to adapt to the recent popularizing trends that inevitably followed the demise of the Muslim landed aristocracy, the socio-economic backbone of Muslim cultural traditions. That trend is exemplified by the singing of other performers within and outside the Dargah, many of them not hereditary professionals. On the other hand, some of Meraj's relatives have managed to increase the immediate appeal of a sophisticated style of Qawwali singing by making it more attractive musically (cf. ex. 2 by Aziz Warsi discussed below).

Two other performers are represented with examples to round out the musical range of Qawwali at Nizamuddin; both come regularly to perform at this shrine and were recorded there. One is Aziz Ahmad Khan Warsi of Hyderabad, perhaps the most famous Qawwal (popular Qawwali or filmī singers excluded) in India today and honoured by the Government of India. A member of Meraj's family and descendant of Tan Ras Khan's sister he adds special musical and performance ability to a sound hereditary background. Even though today he commands high fees for his concert performances, Aziz Warsi still values his hereditary tie with the Nizamuddin shrine and "offers" his performance to the saint whenever he visits Delhi.

The second additional performer represents the new amateur Qawwal who, untutored but endowed with a musical inclination and a pleasant voice, acquires a limited repertoire of Qawwali songs by imitation, picking up tunes and verses as best he can. Iftekhar Amrohvi, a young man with a hereditary artisan background, comes from the nearby town Amroha (hence his chosen second name Amrohvi, i.e. "of Amroha", in the absence of a saintly lineage affiliation), and regularly visits shrines in the vicinity.

B The Music

The Qawwal Bachche Repertoire

Meraj and the other lead performers of the brādrī share a repertoire extensive in range that includes every kind of poem and musical setting. All these Qawwals identify their repertoire primarily in terms that are non-musical--textual or functional--and only secondarily in musical terms, although they are perfectly able to isolate tunes as musical entities. Accordingly, my presentation of this repertoire follows the non-musical criteria relevant to its performers, while musical categorizations are appended subsequently.

Every Qawwal of Nizamuddin Auliya has been taught a basic repertoire by his elders. At the core are what he calls panchāyatī gāne ("songs of the community"), or shāmilāt ke gāne ("songs of [group] presence"), i.e. the ritual songs that he is required to sing communally at the shrine and at other ritual duties (see ex. 1: 320, Performance 1: 376 ff). Then he knows a number of standard Sufi songs. Among them are "classics" by the great Persian mystics well known to Sufi audiences. A majority are beloved Farsi and Hindi verses composed by Amir Khusrau. In fact, this is what distinguishes the repertoire of Qawwal Bachche performers from those of other shrines: they not only know a great many of Amir Khusrau's Farsi poems which can be found in standard written collections, but also the poems in classical Hindi ascribed to him and handed down in their families through oral tradition, along with their authentic musical settings (exs. 2 and 3). Their repertoire also includes more recent poems in all three languages which, because of their spiritual association or authorship, have also come to be considered "classics" (ex. 5).

Finally there is the category of Urdu Qawwali which contains poems of essentially two types. One comprises those with a good spiritual and literary content, through association with a recognized Sufi poet (ex. 6). The other much larger category encompasses songs with poems of a less sophisticated or popular style (ex. 7). But the Qawwali song list would not be complete without the mention of the so-called filmī Qawwali: popular love longs with texts in Urdu or, sporadically, in Hindi, which in the Sufi context are simply assumed to address the spiritual Beloved while providing entertainment to unsophisticated "common" audiences.

An integral part of the song repertoire is the collection of verses

Nizamuddin Auliya performers use as adjunct items, both as introductory verses or as inserts. With each category of Qawwali text goes a basic number of stylistically and thematically appropriate verses, one or more couplets long; in addition such verses they may be taken from longer poems as well.

The repertoire of musical settings, while tied to that of texts, falls into categories overlapping with textual ones, since Qawwali tunes are, for the most part, moveable. For Nizamuddin Auliya performers, there is first of all a stock of standard tunes, most of which are associated with standard poems. This tune repertoire encompasses what Qawwals call "old" tunes (*puranī dhuneṅ*, *puranī bandisheṅ*). Within that general category the "special" (*mak̲h̲sūs*, *k̲h̲ās*) settings of particular poems are identified by their texts, but many are moveable and adapted to different poems (e.g. ex. 4). Not moveable are musical settings of ritual songs (ex. 1) or of songs with a special shrine associated (ex. 3). Also included in this general category of what Nizamuddin Auliya Qawwals call "typical Qawwali tunes" (*Qawwālī kī theṭ dhuneṅ*) are tunes for common use (*'ām dhuneṅ*) that can suit any poem within a given range of structural features.

In addition to the old stock repertoire there is an expanding repertoire of what are called "tunes of nowadays" (*ājkal kī dhuneṅ*). Some of them, too, are settings of particular poems, mostly modern ones; often these are also known by their composers, usually well-known Qawwals (most outstanding is the famous Ghulam Farid Sabri of Pakistan). Recordings of such newly composed songs have helped generate a new musical repertoire of songs mostly popular in style which also constitutes a source of new tunes for adapting to suitable poems. Nizamuddin Auliya Qawwals are always on the lookout for new tunes, "picking them up" (uṛānā--to snatch) from listening to performances or, more rarely, by making them up. All make sure of learning what is currently popular, but differences in personal preference and training result in a more popular orientation in some, while a strictly classical Sufi orientation is represented by Meraj, whose repertoire of classical Sufi poems as well as of authentic old tunes is the most extensive.

In concrete terms, the repertoire which is actually heard in performance from Meraj and the other Qawwal Bachche is a collection of songs covering all the above categories of poems and tunes of representing both family heritage and individual acquisition. For any one individual within the group this means he knows four types of songs:

a) Songs specifically associated with Nizamuddin Auliya, including ritual songs and Amir Khusrau compositions. These constitute the essence of the Qawwal Bachche tradition.

b) Sufi classics known to Sufis and Qawwals all over India.

c) Songs that form part of the performer's personal repertoire, either handed down in his immediate family or acquired on his own, including own compositions. Such songs may be picked up by his colleagues, but they remain associated with his name, and they most clearly reflect his performing personality.

d) Songs with popular success added to the repertoire to keep up with the trend of the day.

The proportion between these types of songs varies from one Nizamuddin performer to the next: Meraj, being oriented to classical Sufism and having a particularly rich background, is extremely well-versed in types a) and b)--the latter also because of his extensive exposure to shrines all over India. He excels in type c), particularly with his knowledge of old songs, but has kept type d) to a minimum.

In the music examples, each of the first three types is represented by two songs, the last type by one: a) is represented by ex. 2 and 3; b) by ex. 1 and 4; c) by ex. 5 and 6; d) by ex. 7.

Among adjunct items, neither introductory nor inserted verses are identified in terms of individual musical setting. Rather, each performer has his personal melodic and rhythmic style by which he musically realizes the registral structure of these recitatives (cf. Ch. 3, Table 10). Except for some pre-composed introductory verses in the popular song style, used with modern Qawwali tunes, there is no musical difference among verses of different textual categories. The one exception is one famour classical Sufi tune, the masnavī (ex. 4), which is often sung in recitative with classical Farsi verses (ex. 11).

The musical examples include introductory and inserted verses in two personal styles (ex. 9 and ex. 10), as well as a recitative of the masnavī (ex. 11).

Preludes, finally, are distinctly a part of the Qawwal's musical repertoire. Of the two traditional naghma tunes, most Nizamuddin performers mostly use the modernized version, although they also are familar with the venerable old Allahū hymn which is hardly ever called for. Those who cultivate a more popular repertoire are conversant as well with a variety of "modern" naghmā tunes mostly based on popular melody; others simply intone the tune of the song they are planning to sing.

Prelude examples include a full version of the modernized traditional version (ex. 8a) as well as a sample of its predecessor (ex. 8b).

The Music Examples

The ten examples selected to illustrate the idiom and its use in performance are all part of Meraj Ahmad's repertoire. They have been~~e~~ chosen out of a large number of recorded and documented Qawwali songs (see Data Collection) so that altogether they provide a representative cross section of a Nizamuddin Auliya performer's repertoire.

EX. 1: QAUL (MAN KUNTO MAULĀ)

This is the basic ritual song of Sufism in India; indeed one can call it the Opening--or Closing--Hymn of Qawwali. At Nizamuddin Auliya no Qawwali event can start any other way, while elsewhere in India and Pakistan the Qaul serves as a conclusion. The hymn expresses the basic tenet of Sufism that the principle of spiritual succession in Sufism was instituted by the Prophet himself, as recorded in one of his sayings (*hadīs*). It is this saying which constitutes the main text of this brief hymn therefore called *qaul* ("saying" in Arabic, cf. Ch. 5: 105 f). According to all Sufis in India, it is Amir Khusrau who set this *hadīs* to music, extending it with *zikr*-like phrases in Farsi which today remain only partly intelligible.

Musically, the Qaul is set to a version of raga *shudh kalyān*. The Qawwal Bachche's explanation for the deviation of the song from today's standard version of the raga is that the raga may have changed over time while the Qawwali hymn tune has been carefully preserved and passed on in an unbroken succession of hereditary shrine performers (Gore Khan I:36).

The song consists of six lines, and the setting comprises a complete tune with *asthāyī* and *antarā* and their extensions. However, in this song the entire textual meaning is contained in the first two lines, so that the remainder is rarely repeated more than cursorily. In fact, the entire emphasis in performance falls on the core opening statement set to the asthāyī and is expressed through every kind of repetition.

Reiteration as well as intense repetition are enhanced musically by a good number of alternate tune versions which allow the performer to create variety and to structure the repetition into somewhat larger musical units that the extremely short repeat unit by itself permits. Most important, they enable him to raise the intensity level by raising the pitch level of this low-register asthāyī tune.

Amplifying inserts are prominently used in the performannce of the Qaul. Since the message of the song is so basic and its implication so profound for Sufism, extension through inserts is normally expected, so that every performer at Nizamudin Auliya has in his memory a stock of appropriate girahs, many of which are Sufi classics in their own right. Because of their number and length, most of these are traditionally performed to a regular musical rhythm, although moving melodically according to tonal centres, as in the standard recitative.

Another aspect of the extended repetition standard for this hymn is the use of musical improvisation. Nizamuddin performers prefer melodic inserts, while performers elsewhere also use rhythmic improvisation to the Farsi syllables (in the tarānā style, cf. recording of Ghulam Farid Sabri EMI LKCA 20000).

The version presented here is identical for all Qawwal Bachche and recognized by performers and Sufis generally as the one that most authentically represents the original by Amir Khusrau. This version is also presented as part of Performance Ex. 1, in a very brief performance (see pp. 389 f).

The Qaul was recorded 21 times in performances by the Qawwal Bachche varying in duration form a few minutes to almost one hour.

Text

Arabic-Farsi Original:

مَن کُن تو مولا
فعلیٌ مولا
دَر دِل دَر دِل دَر دانی
ہَم توم تَنا نانا تَنا نارے
یلالی یلالی یلا یالا رے

Transliteration:

Man kunto Maulā
Fā Alī-un-Maulā
Dar dil dar dil dar dānī
Ham tum tānānā nānā tānānānā rī
Yālalī yālalī yāla yāla rī
Yālalalī yālalalī yāla yala ri

Translation:

Whoever accepts me as master
Ali is his master too
(for interpretation of the rest, see Note[11])

Form and Structural Realization:

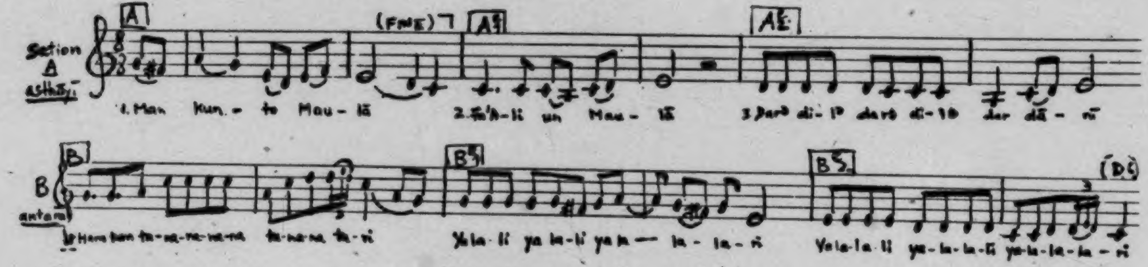
Irregular, 6 lines--fitted into *asthāyī*-*antarā* scheme

Text	Music	
Line 1	*asthāyī*	A
2	*asthāyī* extension	A^{e1}
3	*asthāyī* extension	A^{e2}
4	*antarā*	B
5	*antarā* extension	B^{e1}
6	*antarā* extension	B^{e2}

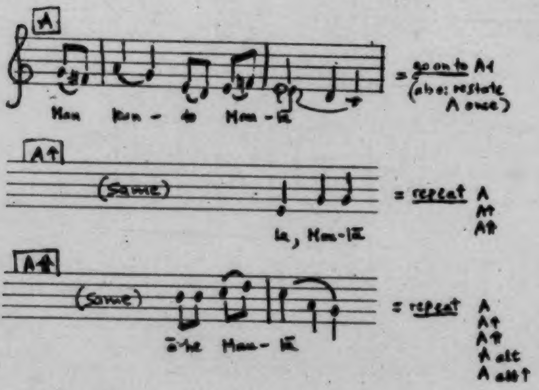
Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

Irregular--set to 8/8 *kaharvā*

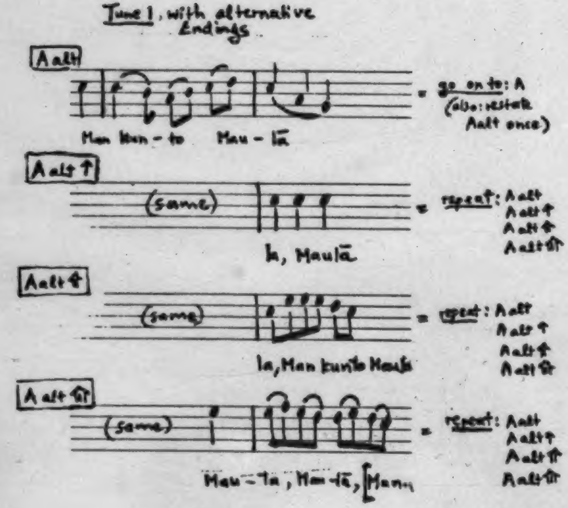
Musical Setting

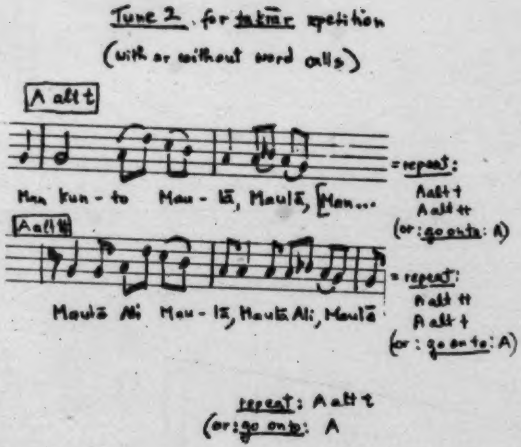

Section A asthāyi
A
(FINE)
B
antarā
(D.S.)
1. Man Kun - to Mau - lā
2. Fa'h - li un Mau - lā
3. Dar-e dil-i dar-e dil-i dar dā - ni
Hom tom ta-na-na-na-na ta-na-na ta-ri
Ya-la-li ya-la-li ya-la — la - la - ri
Ya-la-la-li ya-la-la-li ya-la-la-la - ri

Section A - Alternative Endings:


A
Man Kun - to Mau - lā
= go on to A1
(also: restate A once)
(Same)
la, Mau - lā
= repeat A A↑ A⇑
(Same)
ā-he Mau - lā
= repeat A A↑ A⇑ A alt A alt↑

Section A - Melodic Alternatives: (Alternative Tunes)


Tune 1, with alternative Endings
A alt
Man kun - to Mau - lā
= go on to: A (also: restate A alt once)
A alt †
(same)
la, Maulā
= repeat: A alt
A alt †
A alt ‡
A alt ⇑
A alt ‡
(same)
la, Man kunto Maulā
= repeat: A alt
A alt †
A alt ‡
A alt ⇑
A alt ⇑
(same)
Mau - lā, Mau - lā, [Man...
= repeat: A alt
A alt †
A alt ‡
A alt ⇑


Tune 2, for takrār repetition (with or without word calls)
A alt †
Man kun - to Mau - lā, Maulā, [Man...
= repeat: A alt †
A alt ††
(or: go on to: A)
A alt ††
Maulā Ali Mau - lā, Maulā Ali, Maulā
= repeat: A alt ††
A alt †
(or: go on to: A)
repeat: A alt †
(or: go on to: A

Remaining Sections - Alternative Endings

omitted here, since these sections are repeated rarely and then only for structural reasons, not in response to listeners due to the absence of recognized semantic meaning in their text.

EX. 2: CHASM-E-MASTE AJABE

This is one of the most famous and stirring Qawwali classics in the repertoire of the Qawwal Bachche. The poem, a ghazal by Amir Khusrau, conveys the ecstasy and mystery of mystical love through the rich imagery of traditional Persian love poetry, enhanced by a euphonious rhyme scheme and the pervasive use of the monorhyme 'ajabe (strangely wonderful), a term which so aptly characterizes the mystical experience.

The musical setting is characterized by a strongly motivic melody typical of many "special" or "old" Qawwali tunes. It is highly structured into parallel phrases and sequential rhythmic patterns, both traits being favoured by a long verse line and a regular metric pattern. Of the two tune portions, the asthāyī is clearly the dominant one, melodically and motivically, while the antarā simply introduces the contrasting upper octave register and then joins into the concluding phrase of the asthāyī tune.

A particularity this musical setting shares with many other Qawwali tunes, especially those associated with Farsi Ghazals, is a musical realization of the poetic meter which renders the final long syllables of every rhythmic phrase into extended durational values. This extra duration permits the lead performer to insert word calls or even a fast repetition of the preceding text phrase (see below) at the end of that phrase, thus rendering the musical setting particularly suited to varied takrār repetition.

The version presented is Aziz Ahmad Khan Warsi's. Both tune outline and alternative endings are identical with Meraj Ahmad's version, since both performers have received their training from the same illustrious family tradition. Deviating versions can be heard by performers outside Nizamuddin Auliya, but the Qawwal Bachche version is recognized as standard. Elaborations are often heard in renditions of this song by Qawwal Bachche; in addition, Aziz Warsi excels in inserting melodic improvisations outlining raga phrases that match the song setting.

In addition to Aziz Warsis' version, 5 performances of Chashme Maste were recorded, four sung by Meraj Ahmad and one by a hereditary performer from outside, singing at Nizamuddin Auliya.

Text

(5 verses out of a possible 8)

Farsi Original:

چشم مستے عجبے زلف ترازے عجبے
مے پرستے عجبے فتنہ ترازے عجبے

بہر قتلم چو کشد تیغ نہاں سر بسجود
او بہ ناز عجبے من بے نیازے عجبے

وقت بسمل شدانم چشم بر رویش باز است
مہربانے عجبے بندہ نوازے عجبے

ترک تازے عجبے شعبدہ بازے عجبے
کجکلاہے عجبے اربدہ سازے عجبے

حق مگو کلمۂ کفر است در این جا خسرو
راز دانے عجبے صاحب رازے عجبے

Transliteration:

Chashm-e-maste 'ajabe zulf tarāze 'ajabe
Maiparaste 'ajabe fitna tarāze 'ajabe

Bahr-e-qatlam chū kashad tegh neham sar basujūd
Ū banāze 'ajabe man banyāze 'ajabe

Waqt-e-bismil shudanam chashm barūyash bāz ast
Mehrbāne 'ajabe banda nawāze 'ajabe

Turk tāze 'ajabe shobā babāze 'ajabe
Kajkulāhe 'ajabe 'arbada sāge 'ajabe

Haq mago kalma-e-kufr ast dar īṅ ja Khusrau
Rāzdāne 'ajabe sāhib-e-rāz-e-'ajabe

Translation:

O wondrous ecstatic eyes, o wondrous long locks,
O wondrous wine worshipper, o wondrous mischievous sweetheart.

As he draws the sword, I bow me head in prostration so as to be
  killed
O wondrous is his beneficence, o wondrous my submission.

In the spasm of being killed my eyes beheld your face:
O wondrous benevolence, o wondrous guidance and protection.

O wondrous amorous teasing, o wondrous beguiling,
O wondrous tilted cap (symbol of beauty), o wondrous tormentor.

Do not reveal the Truth; in this world blasphemy prevails, Khusrau:
O wondrous Source of mystery, o wondrous Knower of secrets.

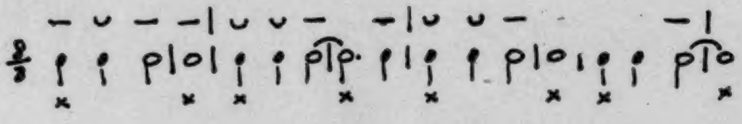
Form and Structural Realization:

ghazal and asthāyī-antarā scheme

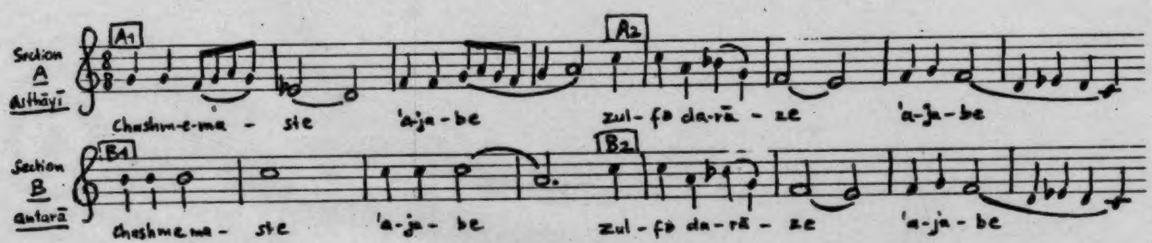
Text	Music	
Line a	asthāyī - antarā	A
a	asthāyī	A
b	antarā	B
a	asthāyī	A
(etc)	(etc)	

Meter and Rythmic Realization:

raml 3- -set to 8/8 kaharva

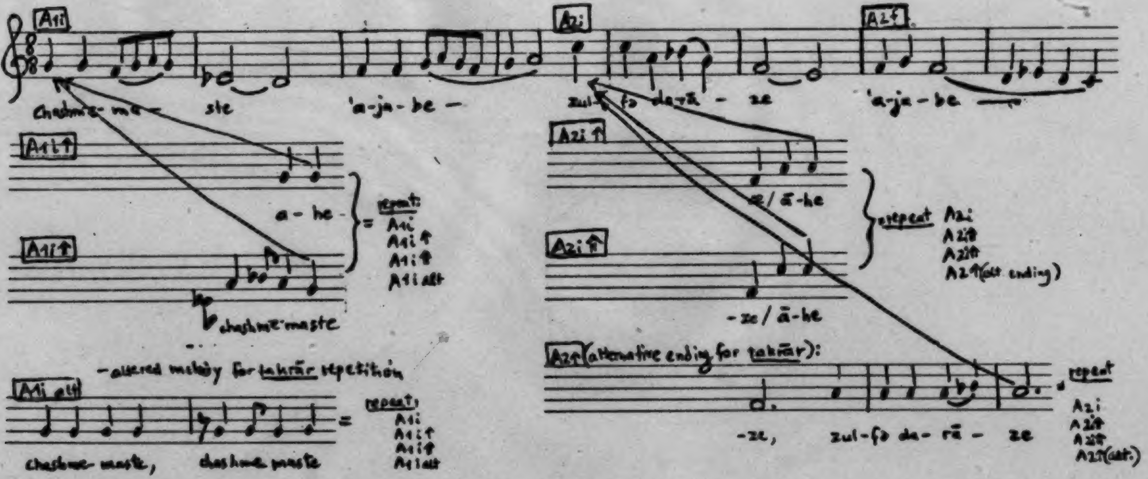


Musical Setting

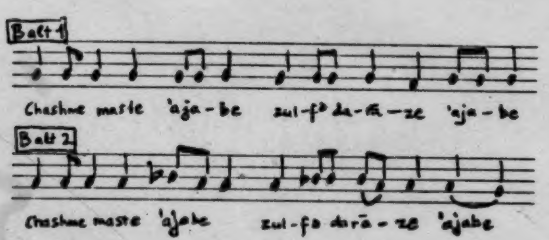

A1
A2
Section A Asthāyī
Chashm-e-ma - ste
'a-ja-be
zul-fo da-rā - ze
'a-ja-be
B1
B2
Section B antarā
chashme ma- ste
'a-ja- be
zul-fo da-rā - ze
'a-ja-be

Section B - Alternative Endings

(B2i, B2i↑, B2i⇑, B2† identical with their A equivalents above)

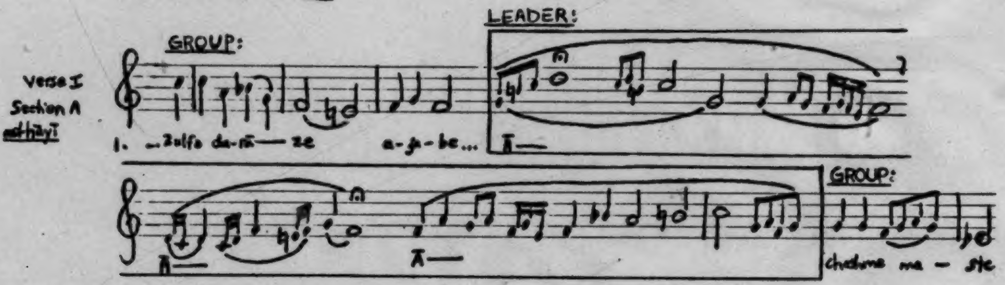

A1i
A2i
A2†
Chashme-ma- ste
'a-ja-be —
zul-fo da-rā - ze
'a-ja-be
A1i↑
a - he -
repeat: A1i A1i↑ A1i⇑ A1i alt
A1i⇑
chashme maste
-altered melody for takrār repetition
A1i alt
chashme-maste, chashme maste
repeat: A1i A1i↑ A1i⇑ A1i alt
A2i↑
-ze/ ā-he
repeat A2i A2i↑ A2i⇑ A2†(alt ending)
A2i⇑
-ze/ ā-he
A2† (alternative ending for takrār):
-ze, zul-fo da- rā - ze
repeat A2i A2i↑ A2i⇑ A2†(alt.)

Section B – Melodic Alternatives

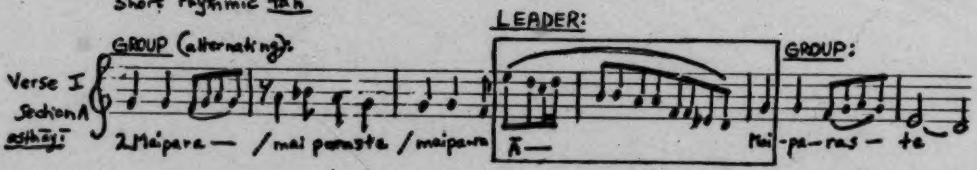

Balt 1
Chashme maste 'aja-be zul-fo da-rā-ze 'aja-be
Balt 2
Chashme maste 'ajabe zul-fo darā-ze 'ajabe

Improvisation

Extended melodic tān


LEADER:
GROUP:
Verse I
Section A
asthāyī
1. ...zulfo da-rā— ze a-ja-be...
Ā—
Ā—
Ā—
GROUP:
chashme ma – ste

Short rhythmic tān


LEADER:
GROUP (alternating):
Verse I
Section A
asthāyī
2 Maipara — / mai parasta / maipara
Ā—
GROUP:
Mai-pa-ras – te

EX. 3: TORI SURAT KE BALHARI

Perhaps the most dearly beloved Amir Khusrau Qawwali in Hindi, this song most directly conveys the mystical love experience through the Hindi devotional idiom in which the devotee speaks as a bride, giving up the self to merge with the beloved saint Nizamuddin, and also touching on the supplication and invocation of spiritual seniors.

The form is typical for many Hindi songs: here, as often, the opening line stands by itself, is used as a refrain and epitomizes the entire song. It is therefore highlighted by a distinctive *asthāyī* tune, setting it apart from the remaining musical setting, all of which is *antarā* material with extensions.

Melodically, this is a typical "raga-like" tune or, as Meraj puts it, the tune is raga-related (*yeh dhun rāg se wābasta hai*, Meraj 3-16). The motivic pattern of the opening is unmistakeably raga *kāfī*, later phrases suggest raga *bahār*, but no consistency obtains throughout.

The rhythmic setting of the tune is simple in its long-short arrangement typical of Hindi poetry--anapaestic for the refrain and dactylic for the stanzas. But the musical meter governing this setting is the asymmetrical *pashto* (7/8) of classical or "old" Qawwali songs, so that the long-short relationship becomes 3:2, rather than the 2:1 more common in Hindi songs.

This song, both text and music, is part of the Qawwal Bachche's special heritage. It is widely sung within the entire Chishti *silsila*, however, and therefore can be heard in a number of variants. The present version of Meraj Ahmad is standard for all Nizamuddin Auliya performers and may be considered the most authentic extant today. A performance of this song by Meraj is included in Performance 1 (pp. 418-442); the beginning portion of that performance is transcribed in Transcription 1.

Torī Sūrat was recorded in seven performances, four sung by Meraj Ahmad, the rest by three hereditary Qawwals outside Nizamuddin Auliya.

Text

Hindi Original 1[1]:

تُوری صُورت کے بَلیہاری نِجام
سَب سَکھین چُندری موری میلی
دیکھہ ہنسیں نَر نَاری
اَب کے بَہار چُندر موری رَنگ دو
رَکھہ لے لاج ہماری نِجام پیا
صَدقہ بَابَا گَنج شَکر کَا
رَکھہ لے لَاج ہماری نِجام پیا
کوہو سَاس کوہو نَنَد سے جھگڑے
میں کا تو آس تیہاری
بیری تیہاری سب کو ہو جانے
لاج میری ہے یا تیہاری
قُطب فرید مِل آے براتی
خُسرو رَاج دُلاری نِجام پیا

Transliteration:

R Torī sūrat ke balhārī (Nijām)

1. Sab sakhian chundar morī mailī
Dekh haṅsīṅ narnārī
Ab ke bahār chundar morī rang do
Rakh le lāj hamārī (Nijām Pīyā)

2. Sadqā Bābā Ganj-e-Shakar kā
Rakh le lāj hamārī (Nijām Pīyā)

3. Koh sās koh nand se jhagṛe
Maikā to ās tihārī
Merī tihārī sab kahū jāne
Laj meri hai ya tihari

4. Qutab Farīd mil ae barātī
Khusrau rāj dulārī (Nijām Pīyā)

Translation:

R Beholding your contenance I offer myself in devotion

1. All the other girls saw my soiled chundar,[12]
And they all laughed at me.
This springtime, die my chundar and make it new:
You protect our honour (Nijām, Beloved).

2. In the name of Ganj-e-Shakar[13]
Protect our honour (Nijām, Beloved).

3. Who can win against mother-in-law or sister-in-law[14]?
I pine for your support.
Everyone knows what I am and what you are:
My honour reflects yours (Nijām, Beloved).

4. Qutab and Farīd both came in the wedding procession;[15]
Khusrau is the crown of darlings (Nijām, Beloved).

Form and Structural Realization:

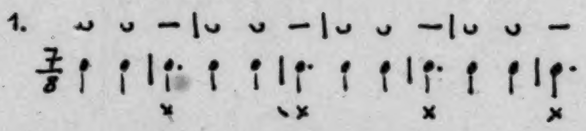
Refrain and Stanzas--fitted to asthāyī - antarā scheme

Text	Music	
line a (mukhṛā)	asthāyī	A
b	antarā	B
a	antarā extension	B^{e1}
b	antarā	B
a	antarā extension	B^{e2}
(etc.)	(etc.)	

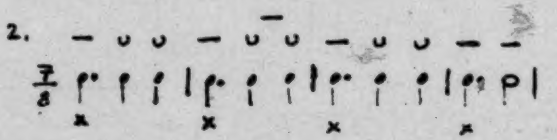
Meter and Rhytmic Realization:

2 versions of standard Hindi meter--set to 7/8 pashto

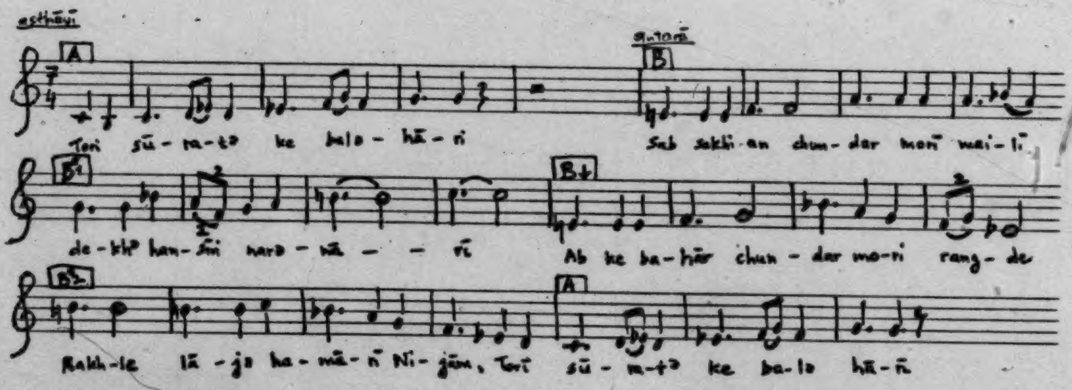
1.



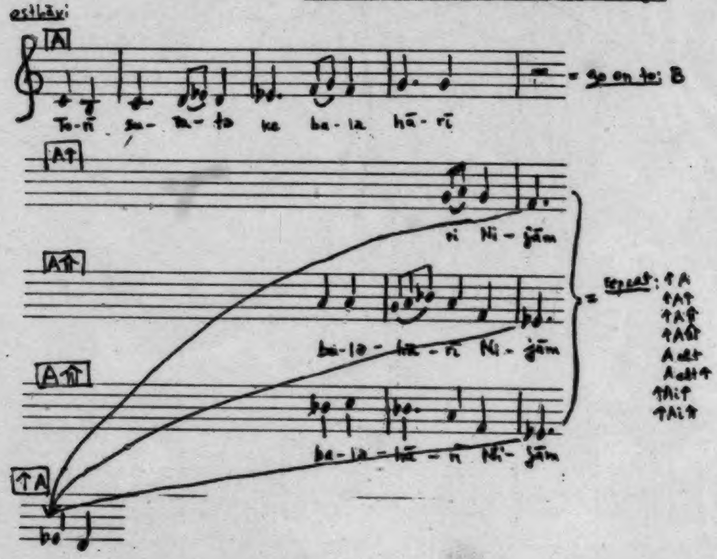
2.

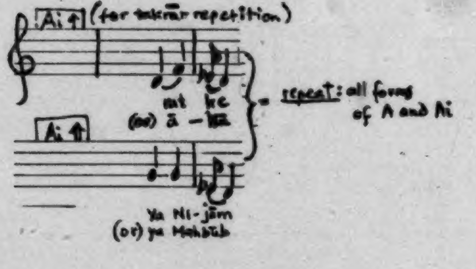


Musical Setting

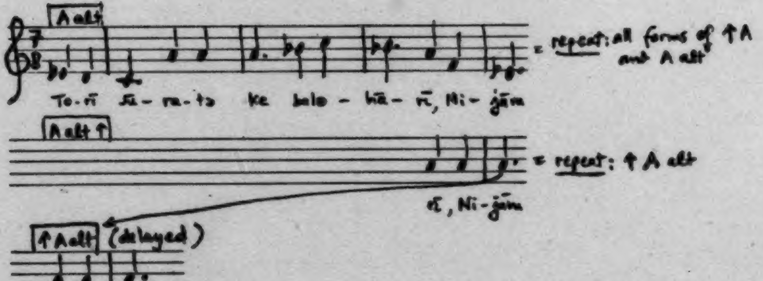

asthāyī
A
antarā
B
Tori sū-ra-tə ke bala-hā-ri
Sab sakhi-an chun-dar mori mai-li
Be1
Be2
de-khə han-sīn narə-nā - - rī
Ab ke ba-hār chun-dar mo-ri rang-de
Rakh-le lā-jə ha-mā-rī Ni-jām, Tori sū-rə-tə ke ba-lə hā-rī

Section A - Alternative Endings


asthāyī:
A
To-rī su-ra-ta ke ba-la hā-rī
= go on to: B
A↑
rī Ni-jām
A⇈
ba-la-hā-rī Ni-jām
A⤊
ba-la-hā-rī Ni-jām
↑A
= repeat: ↑A
↑A↑
↑A⇈
↑A⤊
A alt
A alt↑
↑Ai↑
↑Ai⇈


Ai↑ (for takrār repetition)
mt ke
(or) ā-kā
Ai⇈
Ya Ni-jām
(or) ya Mahbūb
= repeat: all forms of A and Ai

Section A- Melodic Alternatives


A alt
7
8
To-rī sū-ra-ta ke bala-hā-rī, Ni-jām
= repeat: all forms of ↑A and A alt
A alt↑
rī, Ni-jām
= repeat: ↑A alt
↑A alt (delayed)

EX. 4: MASNAVĪ (MUFLISĀNEM)

A classic throughout the history of Sufism, this song is said to be from the *Masnavī* of Maulānā Rūm, i.e. Jalāluddīn Rūmī, mystic of mystics and founder of the Mevlevi order in Konya, Turkey. At Nizamuddin Auliya the tradition is to sing only two verses of the Masnavi and then to continue with a short and equally favourite poem by Amir Khusrau which is composed on the Masnavī model, using the same poetic meter and rhyme scheme. Together, the five verses form a sort of "mystic's self-statement", expressing his stance toward the spiritual Beloved and, in conclusion, invoking the Saint Nizamuddin Auliya as the perfect manifestation of both Lover and Beloved.

What is important about this song is that here, more than in any other Qawwali song, the musical setting itself has a very specific association with classical Sufism. Performers even consider this one tune as being of non-Indian or Persian origin, if not the original setting of Rumi's Masnavi itself.

The tune indeed does have a distinctive melodic contour in which a rise to the fourth allows an initial fall. There is parallelism, but a raga-like motivic structure is missing. Furthermore, the structural balance between the two tune sections runs counter to the standard *asthāyī-antarā* format, for the high register section is here clearly the primary tune portion while the *asthāyī* section is rather a low-register extension. Indeed, the Masnavi song always starts directly with the *antarā* tune sung to the opening line, not with the *asthāyī*, as is the norm.

The song exemplifies a rhythmic setting and pace true and proper for an authentic Qawwali: the poetic meter is realized literally to a 7/8 meter. The presentation is at a slow and measured pace, so that in the execution of this 7/8 theka every beat is articulated on the drum:

etc. This stands in contrast to faster-paced songs like ex. 3 where only principal beats are usually provided:

The Masnavi as a tune has such a strong associative power as the Sufi tune par excellence, that the same tune is also used when a Farsi poem of this structure serves as introductory verse or insert; in that case it is recited in free rhythm (as shown in ex. 11).[16] On the other hand, the Masnavi itself, when sung as a song, is itself not normally preceded by a ruba'i or introductory verse; rather, the opening verse is sung in slow recitative style and then converted into a rhythmic setting to turn it into a song. This is illustrated in the Masnavi performance in Performance 1 (pp. 397-417).

Because of its high stature (ūnchā maqām, in Meraj's words) the Masnavi tune is favoured as a setting for other Farsi poems with the same meter to lend them its enhancing power.

Meraj's version presented here is considered standard; it forms part of Performance 1 (song 3:397 ff). Other recordings of the Masnavi include a demonstration of Meraj as well as performance by a hereditary Qawwal from Hyderabad and four performances using the Masnavi tune in recitative form (see Note 17).

Text

Farsi Original:

مفلسانیم آمده در کوئے تو   لیل اِلله اَز جمالِ روئے تو
کعبهٔ دِل قبلهٔ مَن روئے تو   سجده گاهِ عاشقاں اَبروئے تو

عیدگاهِ ما غریباں کوئے تو   انبساطِ عید دیدم کوئے تو
صد ہلالِ عید قُربانَت کُنَم   اے ہلالِ ما خمِ ابروئے تو
یا نِظام اُلدین محبوبِ اِلٰه   جُملہ محبوباں فِدا بَر روئے تو

Transliteration:

Muflisānem āmadā dar kūe to
Lai-l-Illah az jamāl-e-rūe to

Ka'ba-e-dil qibla-e-man rūe to
Sajdagāh-e-'āshiqān abrūe to

Amir Khusrau verses:

Idgāh-e-mā gharīban kūe to
Imbisāt-e-īd dīdam kūe to

Sad hilāl-e-īd qurbānat kunam
Ai hilāl-e-mā kham-e-abrūe to

Ya Nizāmuddīn Mahbūb-e-Ilāh
Jumla mahbūbāṅ fidā bar rūe to

Translation:

Deprived in love we have come to your threshold,
To perceive God's glory from the beauty of your face.

The *ka'ba* of my heart, my prayers are oriented to your countenance:
For lovers the place of adoration is your presence.

Amir Khusrau verses:

For us, the humble and poor, the place to congregate in prayer is
your threshold;

The joy of *i'd*[17], I see it at your threshold

I offer up a thousand crescent moons of *i'd*
For us the crescent moon is the curve of your eyebrow

O Nizamuddin, Beloved of God
All the beloveds in the world are nothing as compared to your face.

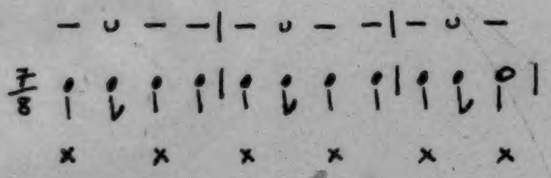
Form and Structural Realization:

ghazal and *asthāyī*-*antarā* scheme

Text	Music
line a	*antarā* (not *asthāyī*!)
a	*asthāyī*
b	*antarā*
a	*asthāyī*
(etc.)	(etc.)

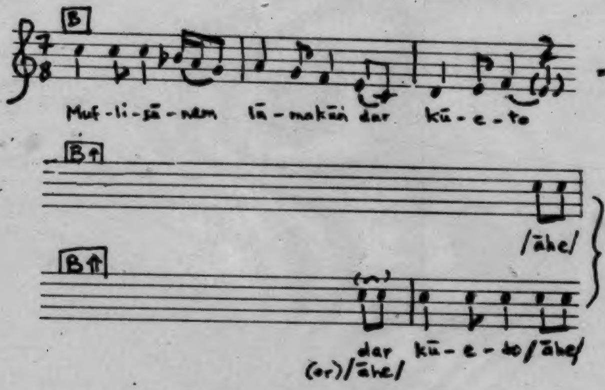
Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

raml 2 -- set to 7/8 *pashto*



Musical Setting and Alternative Endings

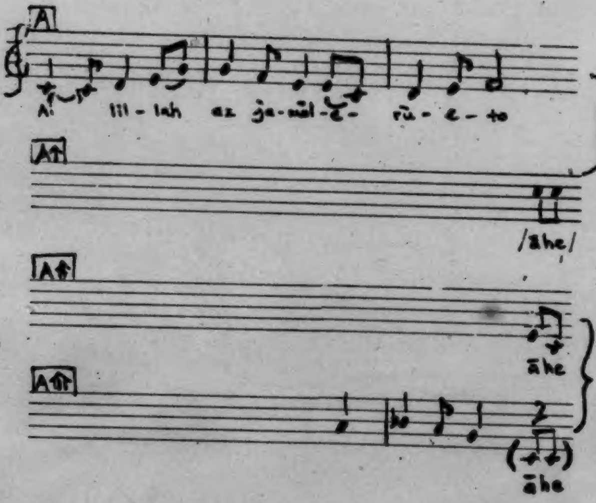
Section
B
antarā


B
7/8
Muf-li-sā-nam lā-makān dar kū-e-to
B↑
/āhe/
B⇑
(or)
dar kū-e-to/āhe/
(or)/āhe/

= go on to: A
(also: restate B once)

= repeat: B
B↑
B⇑

Section
A
asthāyī


A
A lil-lah az ja-māl-e- rū-e-to
A↑
/āhe/
A⇑
āhe
A⤊
āhe

= go on to: B
(also: restate A once)

repeat: all forms of A

EX. 5: KACHH JAGMAG

This song is part of Meraj's personal repertoire. Considered an "old" song, it is currently little heard, but Meraj likes to revive it for "special" listeners.

The poem is folksong-like, drawing from Hindi devotional as well as folk idioms to address the beloved Mahbub, i.e. Mahbūb-e-Ilāhī (Beloved of God, the title of Nizamuddin Auliya), expressing qualities of mystical love. In form, it follows the ghazal scheme; accordingly, the musical setting falls into standard asthāyī and antarā portions.

The melodic frame of the tune is traditional, i.e. common to other Qawwali songs[18] as well as folk and light classical song tunes with mixed raga elements. Because of the long verse line, alternative endings clearly indicate repeat units, each one half line long. Rhythmically the musical setting corresponds entirely to a syllabic representation of the poetic meter. Its anapaestic character fits flexibly into a musical meter of 8/8.

Two versions of this song were recorded at Nizamuddin Auliya, both sung by Meraj Ahmad.

Text

Hindi Original:

کچھ جگمگ جگمگ ہووت ہے   وہ تو اوڑھ چندریا سووت ہے
گنجِ شکر کے روپ میں   محبوب پیارا سووت ہے

سکھ نیند سے انکھیاں کھول ذرا   وہ غفلت رب سے دھیان لگا
یہ پریت کرن کی ریت نہیں   رب جاگت ہے تو سووت ہے

جو کل کرے تو آج ہی کر   جو آج کرے سو اب کر لے
جب چڑیاں کھیت چگت ڈاری   پھر پچھتائے کا ہووت ہے

Transliteration:

Kachh jagmag jagmag howat hai, woh to oṛh chundariā sowat hai
Ganj-e-Shakar ke rūp meṅ, Mahbūb piyārā sowat hai

Sukh nīnd se akhiyāṅ khol zarā, kho ghaflat Rab se dhyān laga
Yeh prīt karan kī rīt nahīṅ, Rab jāgat hai tū sowat hai

Jo kāl kare to āj hī kar, jo āj kare so ab karle
Jab chiṛian khet chugat dārī, phir pachhtāe kā howat hai

Translation:

How glittering is the *chundariā*[19], it covers one who is asleep.
In the likeness of *Ganj-e-Shakar*[13], the dear Beloved is asleep.

From a sound sleep open your eyes; become conscious and focus on God:
This is not the way of loving; God is awake, yet you are asleep.

Whatever you would do tomorrow, do it today; what you would do today, do it now;
Once the birds have picked the field clean, what will repenting achieve?

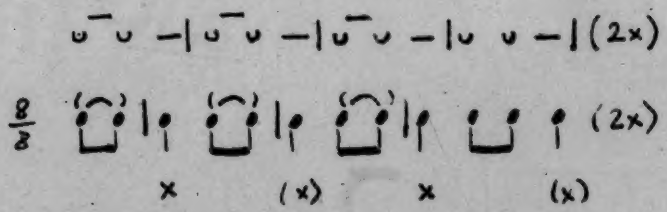
Form and Structural Realization:

ghazal and *asthāyī*-*antarā* scheme

Text	*Music*
line a	*asthāyī* - *antarā*
a	*asthāyī*
b	*antarā*
b	*asthāyī*
(etc.)	(etc.)

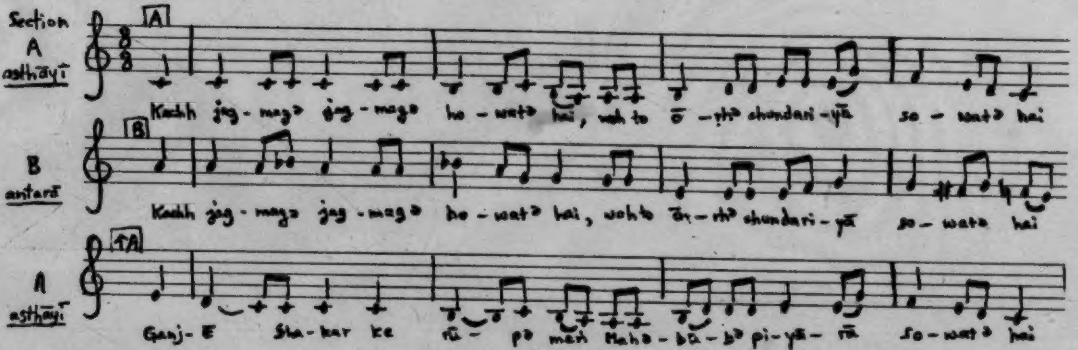
Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

mutadārik--set to 8/8 *kaharvā*

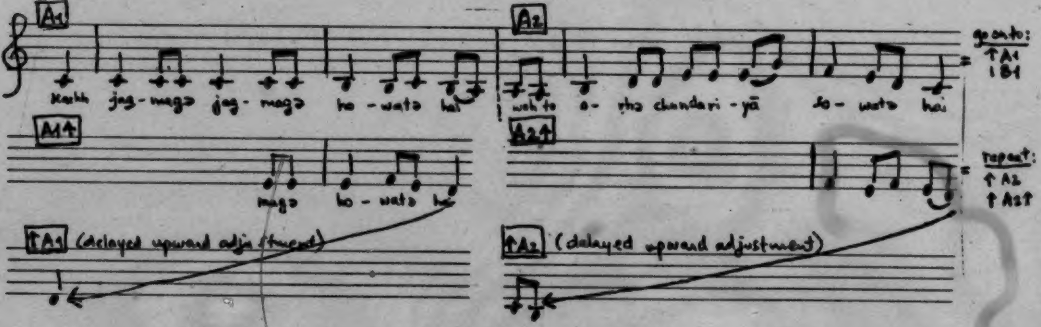


Musical Setting

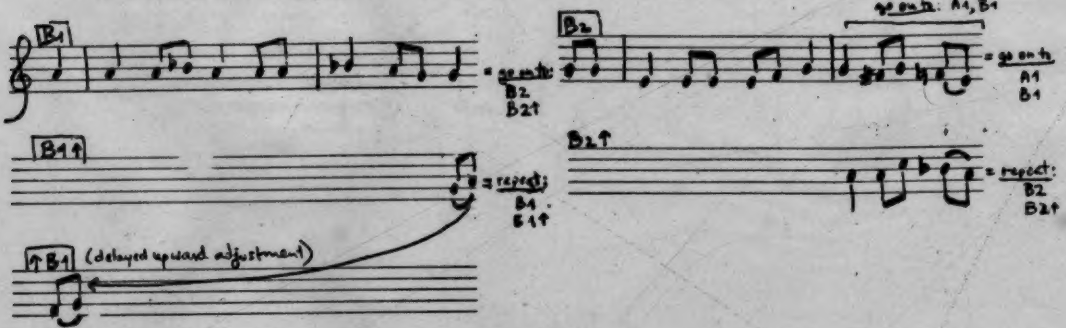
(verse 1 complete)


Section
A
asthāyī
A
Kachh jag - maga jag - maga ho - wata hai, woh to ō - ṛha chundari - yā so - wata hai
B
antarā
B
Kachh jag - maga jag - maga ho - wata hai, woh to ō - ṛha chundari - yā so - wata hai
A
asthāyī
↑A
Ganj - E Sha - kar ke rū - pa men Maha - bū - ba pi - yā - rā so - wata hai

* Section A- Alternative Endings

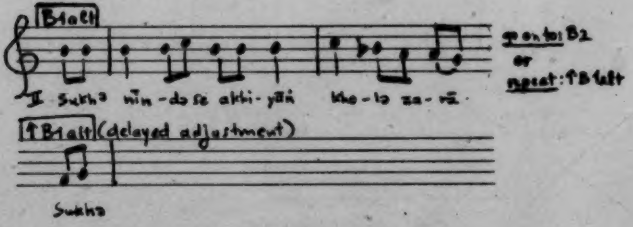

A1
Kachh jag - maga jag - maga ho - wata hai
A2
woh to o - ṛha chundari - yā so - wata hai
go onto:
↑A1
↑B1
A1↑
maga ho - wata hai
A2↑
repeat:
↑A2
↑A2↑
↑A1 (delayed upward adjustment)
↑A2 (delayed upward adjustment)

Section B – Alternative Endings

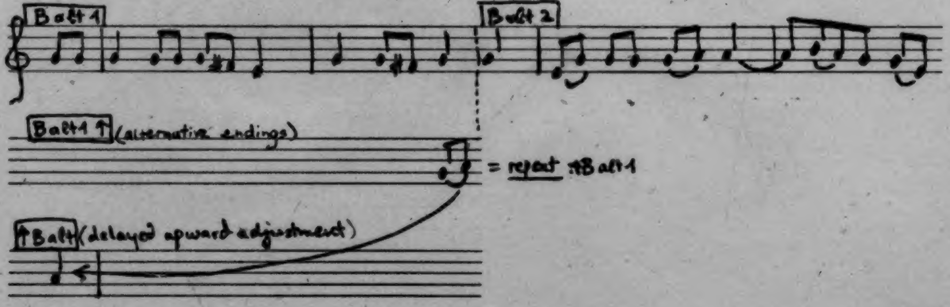

B1
= go on to:
B2
B2↑
B2
go on to: A1, B1
= go on to
A1
B1
B1↑
= repeat:
B1
B1↑
B2↑
= repeat:
B2
B2↑
↑B1 (delayed upward adjustment)

Section B – Melodic Alternatives

Phrase


B1alt
II Sukhə nĩn-də se akhi-yā̃ kho-lə za-rā.
go on to: B2
or
repeat: ↑B1alt
↑B1alt (delayed adjustment)
Sukhə

Section


B alt 1
B alt 2
B alt 1 ↑ (alternative endings)
= repeat ↑B alt 1
↑B alt (delayed upward adjustment)

EX. 6: BATUFAIL-E-DĀMAN-E-MURTAZĀ

This song is known to all Nizamuddin Qawwals, but it is definitely Meraj's song and he always leads its performances at the shrine. The poem in Urdu is by one of the few good contemporary Sufi poets who have literary as well as spiritual standing. Kamil Shatari was himself the sucessor of a saintly lineage in Hyderabad where Meraj learned this poem expressing the Sufi's devotion to Hazrat Ali.

The tune shares its frame and tonal arrangement with several other Qawwali tunes as well as tunes used in Urdu poetic recitation where a clear pitch distinction between asthāyī and antarā is of semantic significance.

The rhythmic setting is originally in a meter of 7/8, resulting naturally from a literal realization of the poetic meter. But Meraj reserves the option to convert the setting to an "easy" or "light" 8/8 meter, depending on the type of listener before him. The two versions are illusted below.

Because this song is exclusively oriented toward one spiritual personage, it particularly well exemplifies the use of takrār repetition in which appellations of Ali are sung in responsorial alternation with text phrases, in the classical takrār style Meraj masters well.

Batufail-e-Dāman-e-Murtazā was recorded in two performances at Nizamuddin Auliya as well as one demonstration, all by Meraj Ahmad.

Text

(Verses 1-4 out of 7)

Urdu Original:

بہ طفیلِ دامنِ مرتضے میں بتاؤں کیا مجھے کیا مِلا
کہ علی ملے تو نبی ملے جو نبی ملے تو خدا مِلا

ترے نقشِ پا سے قدم قدم وہ مقامِ صبر و رضا مِلا
کہیں خاکِ اہلِ جنوں ملی کہیں خونِ رنگِ وفا مِلا

تو امیر ابنِ امیر ہے ترا فیض فیضِ عظیم ہے
ترے در سے جو بھی مِلا مجھے مرے حوصلے سے سوا مِلا

تو شریکِ حالِ بتول ہے تو رفیقِ آلِ رسول ہے
مئے معرفت کسِ عاشقی یہ تو جام کس کو مِلا مِلا

Transliteration:

Batufail-e-dāman-e-Murtazā, main batāun kyā mujhe kyā milā
Keh Alī mile to Nabī mile, jo Nabī mile to Khudā milā

Tere naqsh-e-pā se qadam qadam, woh maqām-e-sabr-o-razā milā
Kahīṅ khāk-e-ahl-e-junūṅ milī, kahīn khūn-e-rang-e-wafā milā

Tū amīr ibn-e-amīr hai, terā faiz faiz-e-azīm hai
Tere dar se jo bhī milā mujhe, mere hausle se siwā milā

Tu sharīk-e-hāl e butūl hai, tū rafīq-e-āl-e-rasūl hai
Mai-e-maʿrifat kas-e-ʿāshiqī, yeh to jām kis ko milā milā.

Translation:

Through my attachement to Murtaza (title of Alī), how can I say what I have attained!
Since I reached Ali, I reached the Prophet; when I reached the Prophet, I reached God.

Following your example, step by step I have attained perseverance and submission[20]
Somewhere I encountered the traces of the ecstatic, somewhere the blood of the colour of faithfulness.

You are a lord of lords, your beneficence is greatest of all.
Whatever the blessings I have received from your bounty, they have been beyond my aspirations.

You are joined with the daughter of the Prophet, you are close to the Prophet's kin.
You are the wine of cognition, the object of love; fortunate is he who receives this goblet!

Form and Structural Realization:

ghazal and asthāyī--antarā scheme

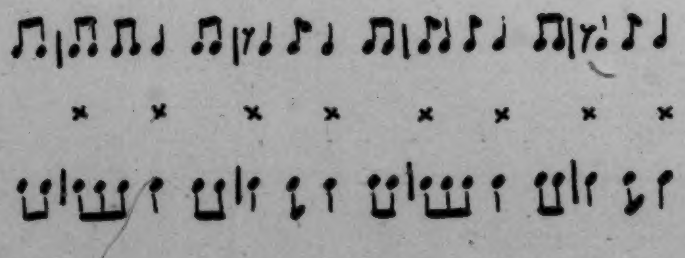
Text	Music	
line a	asthāyī-antarā	A B
a	asthāyī	A
b	antarā	B
a	asthāyī	A
(etc.)	(etc.)	

Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

kāmil (same as nom-de-plume of poet!)--set to either 7/8 pashto or 8/8 kaharvā.

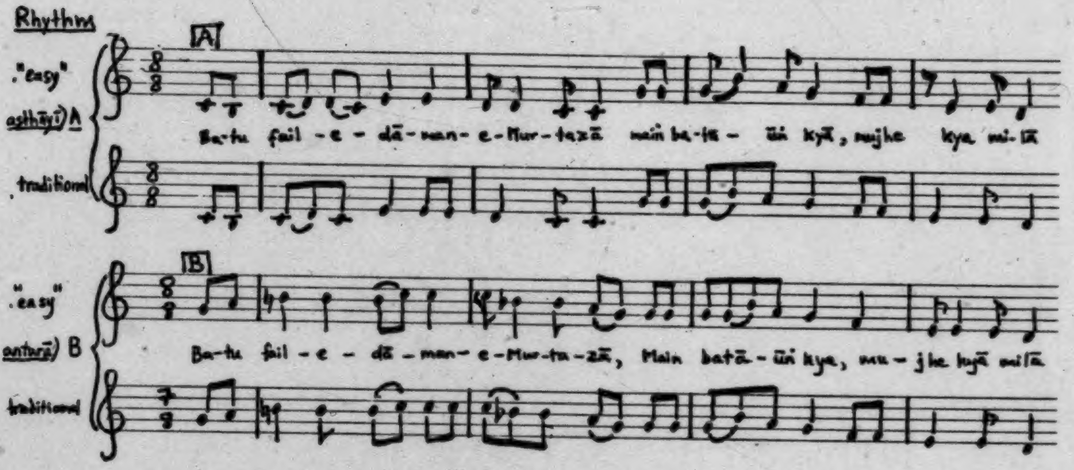
1. "easy" version in $\frac{8}{8}$
(clapping accents)

2. traditional version in $\frac{7}{8}$

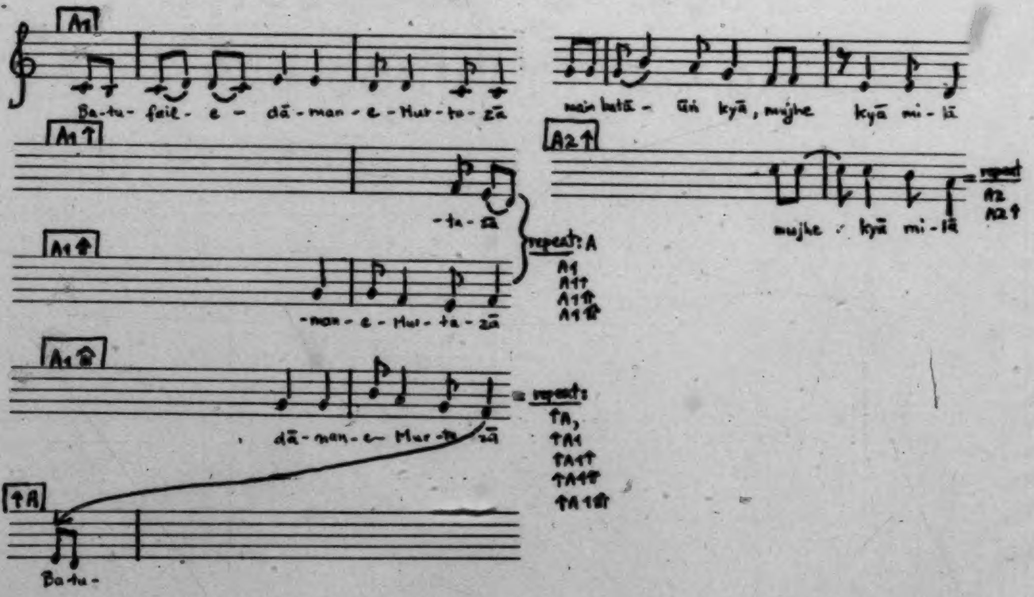


Musical Setting

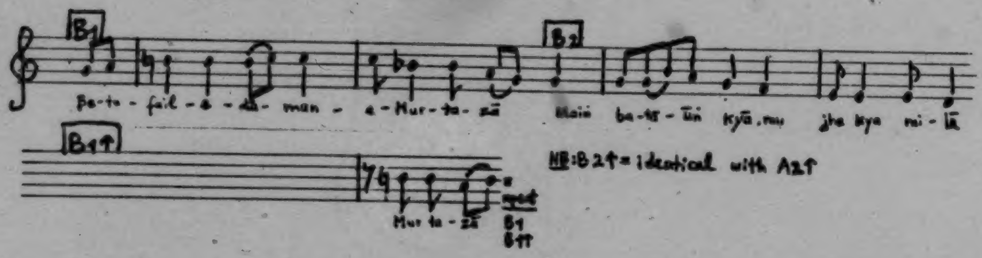
(both rhythmic realizations)


Rhythms
A
"easy"
asthāyī) A
Ba-tu fail - e - dā - man - e - Mur - tazā main ba-tā - ūn kyā, mujhe kya mi-lā
traditional
B
"easy"
antarā) B
Ba-tu fail - e - dā - man - e - Mur - ta - zā, Main batā - ūn kya, mu - jhe kyā milā
traditional

Section A: Alternative Endings

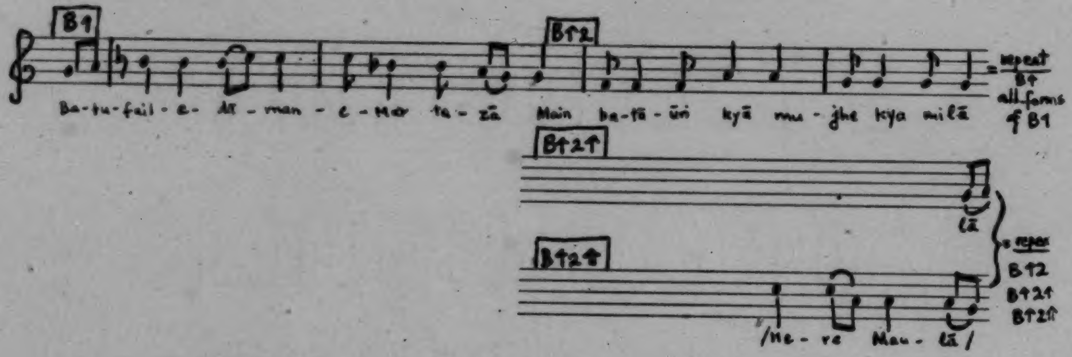

A1
Ba-tu - fail - e - dā - man - e - Mur - ta - zā
main batā - ūn kyā, mujhe kyā mi - lā
A1↑
- ta - zā
A2↑
mujhe kyā mi - lā
= repeat
A2
A2↑
A1⇑
- man - e - Mur - ta - zā
repeat: A
A1
A1↑
A1⇑
A1⤊
A1⤊
dā - man - e - Mur - ta - zā
= repeat:
↑A,
↑A1
↑A1↑
↑A1⇑
↑A1⤊
↑A
Ba-tu -

Section B - Alternative Endings

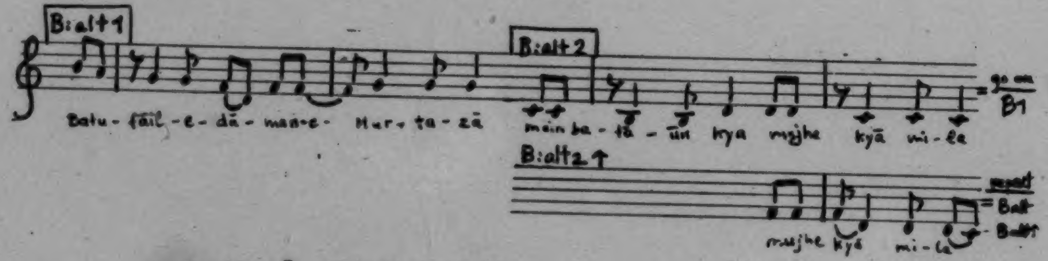

B1
Ba-tu-fail-e-dā-man-e-Mur-ta-zā
B2
Main ba-tū-ūn kyā mu jhe kya mi-lā
B1↑
Mur ta-zā
repeat
B1
B1↑

NB: B2↑ = identical with A2↑

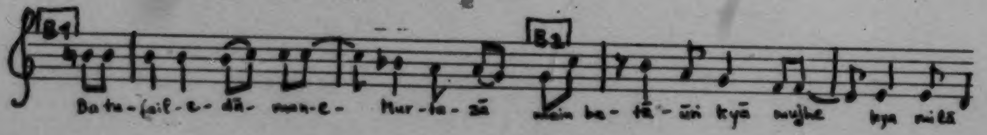
Section B - Alternative Version To Repeat Entire Section


B1
Ba-tu-fail-e-dā-man-e-Mur ta-zā
B↑2
Main ba-tū-ūn kyā mu-jhe kya milā
= repeat B↑ all forms of B1
B↑2↑
lā
B↑2⇑
/Me-re Mau-lā/
= repeat B↑2 B↑2↑ B↑2⇑

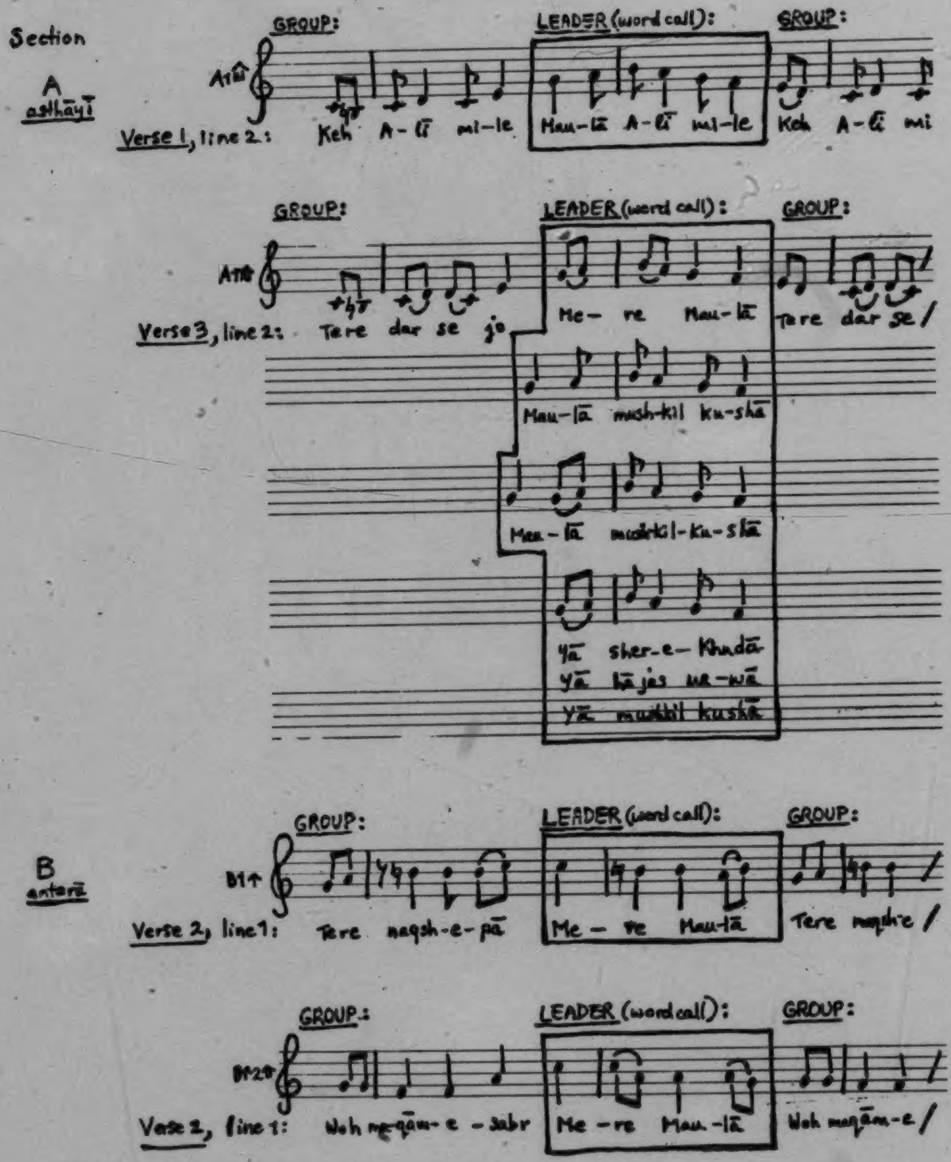
Section B - Melodic Alternatives


B:alt1
Batu-fail-e-dā-man-e-Mur-ta-zā
B:alt2
main ba-tā-ūn kya mujhe kyā mi-la
= go on B1
B:alt2↑
mujhe kyā mi-la
repeat = Balt Balt↑

Section B - Melodic Variation


B1
Ba-tu-fail-e-dā-man-e-Mur-ta-zā
B2
main ba-tā-ūn kyā mujhe kya milā

Takrār Alternation with Word Calls


Section
A
asthāyī
GROUP:
LEADER (word call):
GROUP:
A1a
Verse 1, line 2:
Keh A-lī mi-le
Mau-lā A-lī mi-le
Keh A-lī mi
GROUP:
LEADER (word call):
GROUP:
A1b
Verse 3, line 2:
Tere dar se jo
Me- re Mau-lā
Tere dar se /
Mau-lā mush-kil ku-shā
Mau-lā mushkil-ku-shā
Yā sher-e-Khudā
Yā lāj as ue-wā
Yā mushkil kushā
B
antarā
GROUP:
LEADER (word call):
GROUP:
B1
Verse 2, line 1:
Tere naqsh-e-pā
Me - re Mau-lā
Tere naqsh-e /
GROUP:
LEADER (word call):
GROUP:
B2
Verse 2, line 1:
Woh ma-qām-e -sabr
Me -re Mau.-lā
Woh maqām-e /

EX. 7: KISĪ KO KUCHH NAHĪṄ MILTĀ

The only na't--or Qawwali addressing the Prophet--among these examples is a song recently composed by a Panjabi Qawwal, Rahmat Khan. The poem belongs to the more popular type of religious praise song, straightforward in meaning as well as in expression or, as one Nizamuddin Auliya performer puts it, "totally obvious" ("ek dam khulā"--Inam).

The musical setting is one of those "composed" tunes with a distinctive melodic progression in both tune sections. Like many "modern" or western-influenced tunes, this setting is characterized by disjunct melodic motion, although it also alludes to a traditional raga scale (bhairavī, see Table 3). Rhythmically the song exemplifies the "Panjabi style" (ang, see Ch. 3: 58 f).

This song is extremely popular, appreciated by "common" audiences. But its simple appeal can cut across all levels of audience; hence Meraj has learned it, along with several other such songs. A melodious tune on one side, and the absence of text phrases with strong spiritual impact make this song a favourite solo for young boy Qawwals who can thus display a nice voice without having to be prepared for extensive takrār repetition which they would not have the experience to provide. Hence, among Nizamuddin Auliya performers the song is most often heard sung by Chand, the young brother of Meraj's wife. It is also favoured by amateur performers.

Because of its less-than-traditional melody, the tune of this song is heard in a variety of versions, as presented below. One of these, is by the young amateur performer Iftekhar Amrohvi (see above p. 314) who modified the original tune considerably--due to his limited musical ability and training rather than compositional originality (such modifications are typical for songs with some ambiguity as to tonality, of which "Kisī ko kuchh" is an example).

A total of nine performances of this song were recorded: one each of versions 1 and 3, three each of versions 2 and 4, and one more performance by a Nizamuddin Auliya Qawwal.

Text

(Verses 1-3, 4 rarely sung)

Urdu Original:

کِسی کو کُچھ نہیں مِلتا تری عَطا کے بغیر
خُدا بھی کُچھ نہیں دیتا تری رَضا کے بغیر

کَہو گَدا سے نہ دَستِ طَلَب دراز کرے
کہ اِن کے دَر سے تو مِلتا ہے اِلتِجا کے بغیر

اَگر نَماز میں شامِل نہیں سُرورِ حُضور
تو جان لو کہ یہ کَشتی ہے نا خُدا کے بغیر

Transliteration:

Kisī ko kuchh nahīṅ miltā terī atā ke baghair
Khudā bhī kuchh nahīṅ detā terī razā ke baghair

Kaho gadā se nā dast-e-talab darāz kare
Keh in ke dar se to miltā hai iltejā ke baghair

Agar namāz meṅ shāmil nahīṅ surūr-e-Huzūr
To jān lo keh yeh kashtī hai nakhudā ke baghair

Translation:

No one get anything without your benefaction;
Even God gives nothing without your pleasure.

Tell the humble seeker that he need not stretch out his hand in need,
For His court grants benefice without supplication.

He who in his prayers is not ecstatic with Muhammad,
Consider him like a boat without a helmsman!

Form and Structural Realization:

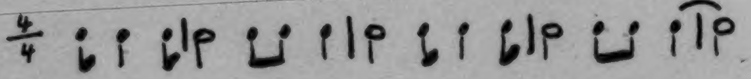
ghazal and asthāyī-antarā scheme

Text	Music
line a	asthāyī - antarā
a	asthāyī
b	antarā
a	asthāyī
(etc.)	(etc.)

Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

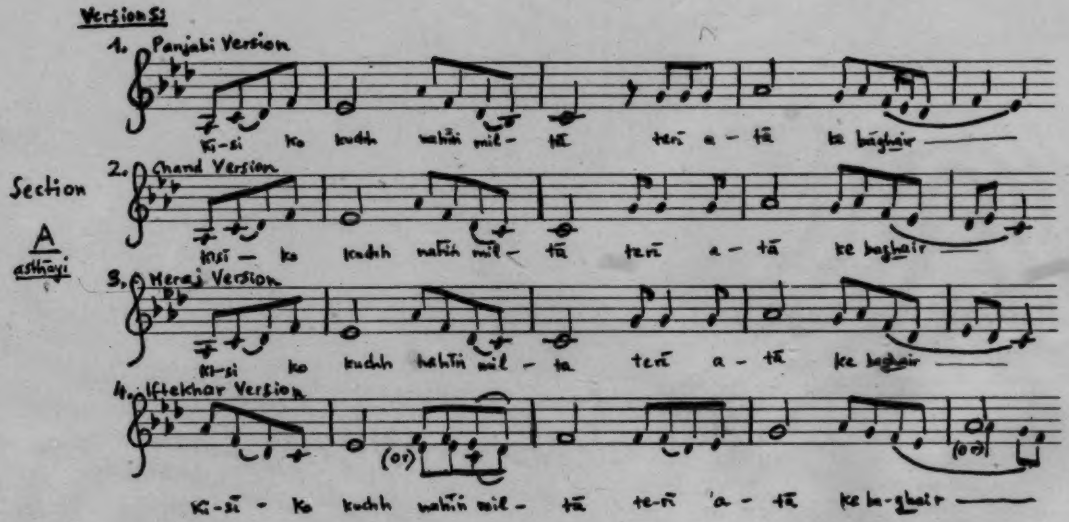
mujtass - set to 8/8 kaharvā, usually executed in 4/4 "Panjabi" style.

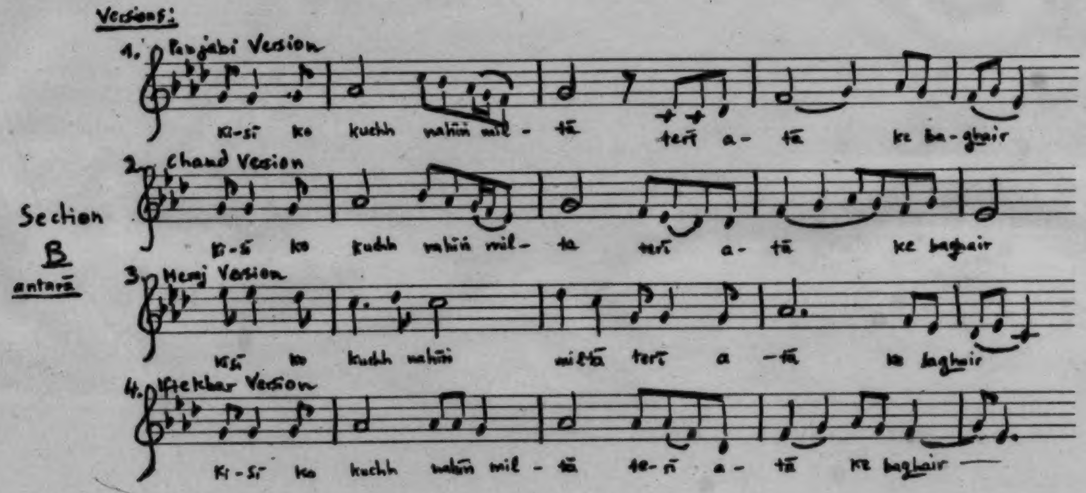
∪ – ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – – | ∪ – ∪ – | ∪ ∪ –



Musical Setting

(Four Versions)


Versions:
1. Panjabi Version
Ki-si ko kuchh nahīṅ mil - tā terī a - tā ke baghair
Section A asthāyi
2. Chand Version
Kisī — ko kuchh nahīṅ mil - tā terī a - tā ke baghair
3. Meraj Version
Ki-si ko kuchh nahīṅ mil - ta terī a - tā ke baghair
4. Iftekhar Version
(or)
Ki-sī - ko kuchh nahīṅ mil - tā te-rī 'a - tā ke ba-ghair


Versions:
1. Panjabi Version
Ki-sī ko kuchh nahīṅ mil - tā terī a- tā ke ba-ghair
Section B antarā
2. Chand Version
Ki-sī ko kuchh nahīṅ mil- ta terī a- tā ke baghair
3. Meraj Version
Kisī ko kuchh nahīṅ miltā terī a —tā ke baghair
4. Iftekhar Version
Ki-sī ko kuchh nahīṅ mil - tā te-rī a - tā ke baghair

EX. 8: INSTRUMENTAL PRELUDE (NAGHMA)

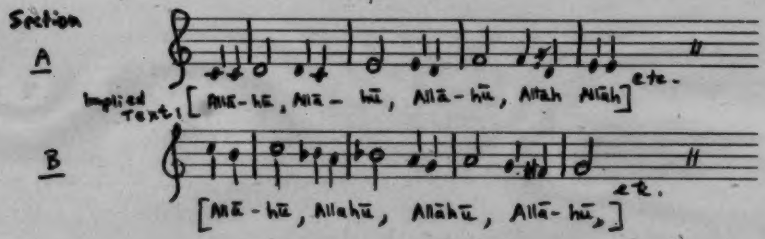
The standard Sufi Prelude (naghmā) of today is the one presented here, as performed by Meraj Ahmad on the start of his appearance in a Qawwali Assembly (i.e. Performance 2: 446). The prelude consists of parts which can be variously repeated and extended until a rapid descent to the tonic brings about a conclusion (cf. Ch. 3:86 and Table 11). The sequential repetition of short patterns underlies the entire composition and includes a somewhat embellished version of the Allahū motive.

Appended for comparision is a partial outline of the original Sufi Prelude, the naghmā-e-Quddūsī, which consists entirely of Allahū motives.

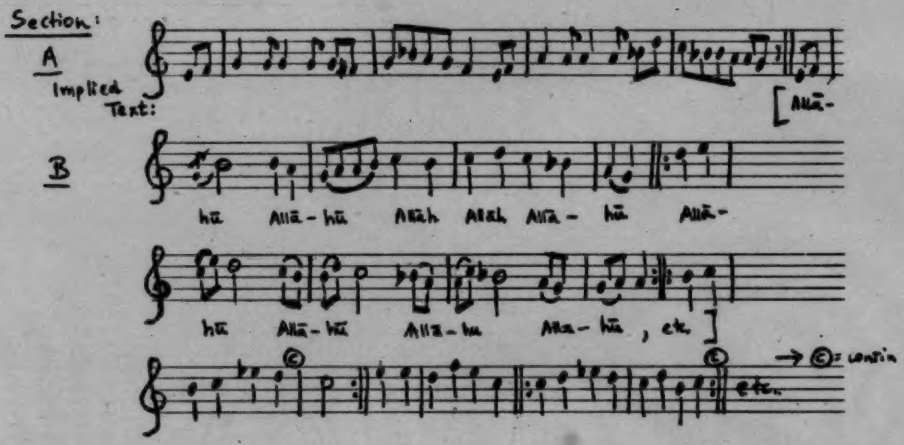
Prelude recordings by Meraj and other performers in and outside Nizammudin Auliya are too numerous and varied to be listed.

Musical Setting

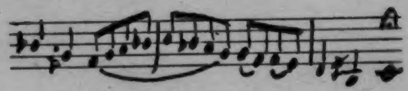
a) Original naghmā pattern


Section
A
Implied Text: [Allā-hū, Allā- hū, Allā-hū, Allah Allāh] etc.
B
[Allā-hū, Allahū, Allāhū, Allā-hū,] etc.

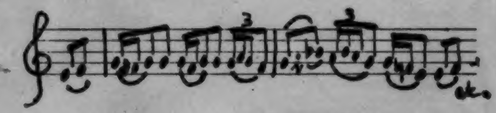
b) Standard *naghmā* - outline *


Section:
A
Implied Text:
[Allā-
B
hū Allā-hū Allāh Allāh Allā- hū Allā-
hū Allā-hū Allā-hu Allā- hū , etc.]
©
©
→ © = contin.
etc.

F final descent,
(at © above,
or later)



*-execution in performance



EX. 9: INTRODUCTORY VERSE (RUBA'I): SHUD DILAM SHEFTA

This is one of the verses that serve to introduce Qawwali Songs dealing with mystical love and its ecstasy (as e.g. ex. 2 and 4); indeed, Meraj uses it to preface ex. 4 in Performance 2. In the strict technical sense this verse--like many others of its type--is not a ruba'i, since it follows a standard metric pattern used in other poetic forms (raml 3, see below), rather than one of the distinct and somewhat more irregular meters assigned to the ruba'i form (see Browne, 1956). However, the structure of its message is standard for a four-line introductory verse of Qawwali songs. The author is not identified.

The musical setting corresponds to the basic pattern outlined in Chapter Three (pp. 86 ff and Tables 9/10). Two versions are presented; one is a minimal statement in which only the first line is repeated, the second an extended rendition where every line is recited twice and then the last two lines are re-stated, setting up the musical conclusions and lead-in into the song which follows immediately. Appended to this second version is a modification option restating the last line at an intermittent pitch livel in order to obliterate the suggested conclusion so that a further introductory verse may be added.

The two versions differ in the musical treatment of the penultimate line, in accordance with the two options indicated in the Model (Ch. 3, Table 10). In the extended version the penultimate line ascends to the upper tonic, setting up the high register for the final line to descend from; the minimal version marks the penultimate line by only a relative ascent (after a descending cadence in the preceding line), so that the last line alone starts in a higher pitch register in order to make its concluding descent.

All versions are performed in alternation between leader and accompanist, but beginning and end are always intoned by the leader.

Shud dilam shefta was recorded in a total of 4 performances, all by Meraj.

Text

Farsi Original:

شُد دِلَم شیفتۂ زُلفِ چلیپائے کَسے
کَرد بیمار مَرا نَرگِسِ شہلائے کَسے
اَے خُوشا طالعِ مَن گِردِ سَرش می گَردم
خُونِ مَن رَنگِ حِنا شُد بہ کَفِ پائے کَسے

Transliteration:

Shud dilam shefta-e-zulf-e-chalīpāe kase
Kard bimār marā nargis-e-shahlāe kase
Ai khushā tāla-e-man gird-e-sarash mī gardam
Khūn-e-man rang-e-hinā shud bakaf-e-pāe kase.

Translation:

My heart became ensnared in the curved locks of Someone
They have made me lovesick, the mesmerizing narcissus eyes of
  Someone
O happy is my fortune; my being revolves around You
My blood became the color of henna to decorate the soles of Someone

Form and Structural Realization:

ruba'i and Recitative Scheme

Text	Music
Line a	Initial and - (Penultimate ascent P
a	Intermittent -(Final descent F
b	stationary - L
a	levels - L

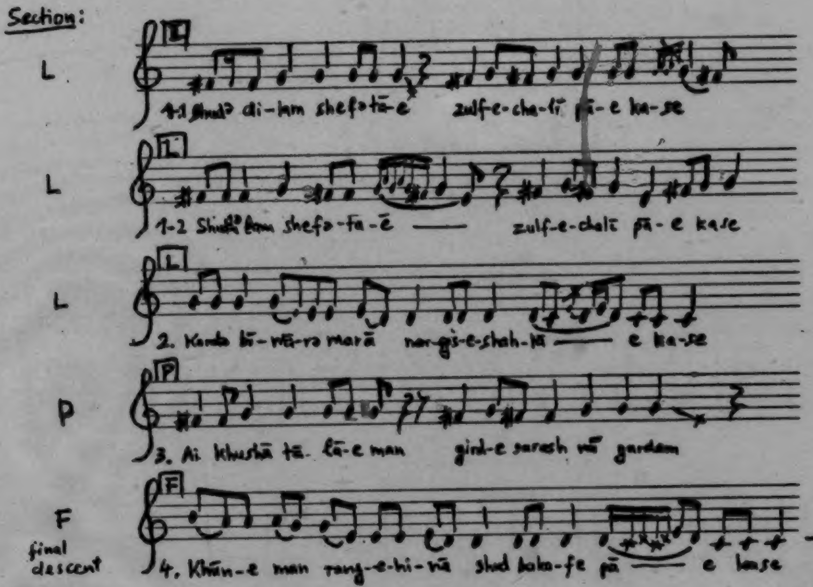
Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

raml 3, recitative rendering

— ᴗ — — | ᴗ ᴗ — — | ᴗ ᴗ — — | ᴗ ᴗ —

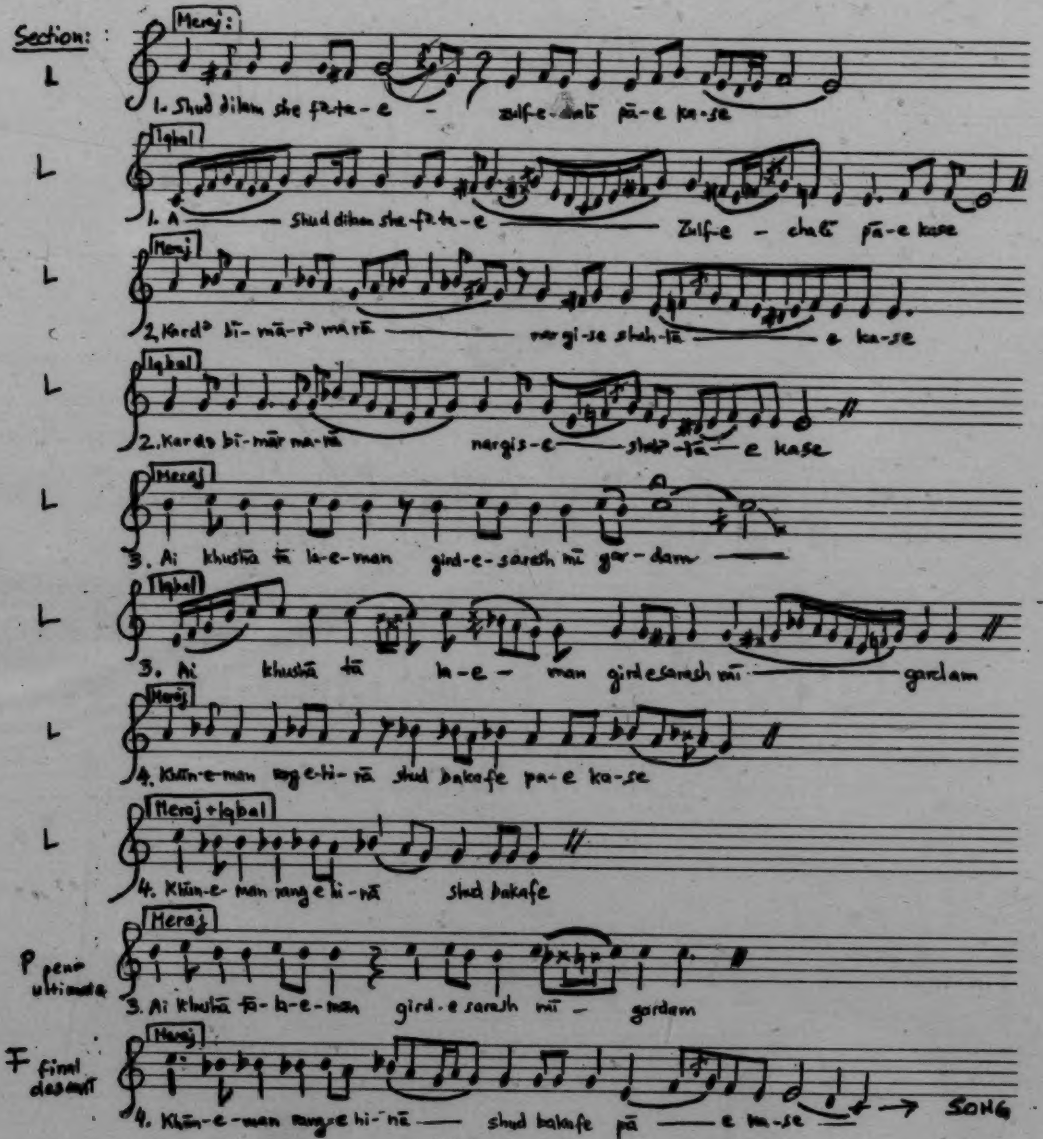
Musical Setting

Minimal Version

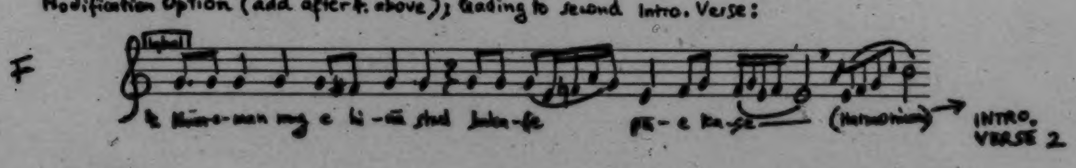

Section:
L
L
L
P
F
final descent
L
1-1 Shud? di-lam shefo-tā-e zulf-e-cha-lī pā-e ka-se
L
1-2 Shud? dam shefo-ta-ē —— zulf-e-chalī pā-e kase
L
2. Kardo bī-vā-ro marā nar-gis-e-shah-lā —— e ka-se
P
3. Ai khushā tā- lā-e man gird-e saresh mī gardam
F
4. Khūn-e man rang-e-hi-nā shud bako-fe pā —— e kase

→ SONG 6 follows immediately

Extended Version


Section:
L
Meraj:
1. Shud dilam she-fte-e - zulf-e-chalī pā-e ka-se
L
Iqbal
1. A — Shud dilam she-fte-e — Zulf-e - chalī pā-e kase
L
Meraj
2. Karda bī-mā-ra ma-rā — nargi-se shah-tā — e ka-se
L
Iqbal
2. Karda bī-mār ma-rā nargis-e — shah-tā — e kase
L
Meraj
3. Ai khushā tā la-e-man gird-e-saresh mī gar-dam —
L
Iqbal
3. Ai khushā tā la-e - man girdesaresh mī — gardam
L
Meraj
4. Khūn-e-man rang-e-hi-nā shud bakafe pa-e ka-se
L
Meraj+Iqbal
4. Khūn-e-man rang-e hi-nā shud bakafe
P penultimate
Meraj
3. Ai khushā tā-la-e-man gird-e saresh mī - gardam
F final descent
Meraj
4. Khūn-e-man rang-e hi-nā — shud bakafe pā — e ka-se —
SONG

FINAL LINE:
Modification Option (add after 4. above); leading to second Intro. Verse:


F
Iqbal
4. Khūn-e-man rang e hi-nā shud baka-fe pā-e ka-se — (Harmonium)
INTRO. VERSE 2

EX. 10: INSERT (GIRAH): SANSĀR HAR KO PŪJE

This insert is one of many famous classical Farsi verses which have inspired later Sufi poets to elucidate them with additional verse lines, often in Urdu or Hindi, to clarify their meaning to unlettered devotees (*tazmīn*). This *tazmīn* consists of three verse lines in Hindi and culminates in the Farsi couplet whose meter and rhyme scheme prevail throughout. Its first line was composed by Nizamuddin Auliya himself, while observing from the Chilla (see Performance 1: 372, 376) how Hindu worshippers bathed in river Jumna:

> "Every people has its right path, its faith, and its focus of worship".

Amir Khusrau, who was with him, at once completed the couplet with a verse line which has come to represent a poetic statement of the Sufi creed:

> "I focus my worship on the tilted cap of my Beloved"

This final line, known to every Sufi in India, has a great potential impact as an insert, suddenly adding its own depth of meaning to a related word or phrase in the main song.

In the version presented below, the insert is linked in a very literal way to a word phrase containing the very word that symbolizes the focus of the entire insert: *kajkulāhe*, the tilted cap symbolizing the Beloved and His attraction. The song is *Chashme Maste* (see ex. 2, verse 4, p. 328 f). Both Meraj Ahmad and Aziz Warsi (singer of ex. 2) like to insert this *girah* at this point in the song; presented here is the version of Aziz Warsi, as inserted in his version of ex. 2.

Musically, the insert is sung in a recitative style at a somewhat brisker pace than an introductory verse. Here, too, the penultimate line is only marked by a slight ascent, so that the high pitch register of the final line makes its textual message stand out musically as well: the effect is that of a "punch line". The actual descent is limited by the starting pitch of the song line that is being picked up anew.

Because of the impact of this last line, it not only enhances the song line to follow but itself may inspire ecstatic arousal. Thus it serves here to exemplify the musical conversion of such an insert line from recitative to a unit of rhythmic repetition. The rhythmic version of the last line, as sung by Aziz Warsi in the same song, is appended both in its final, descending setting as well as in a lower-pitched setting used by the singer to save his voice during extended multiple repetitions.

The five recorded performances of this insert include two by Aziz Warsi, and three by Meraj.

Text

Hindi-Farsi Original:

کجکلاہے عجبے

سنسار ہر کو پوجے کُل کو جگت سراہے
مکے میں کوئی ڈھونڈے کاشی کو کوئی چاہے
دنیا میں اپنے پی کے پیّاں پڑوں نہ کاہے

ہر قوم راست راہے دینِ و قبلہ گاہے
من قبلہ راست کردم بر سمتِ کجکلاہے

کجکلاہے عجبے

Transliteration:

kajkulāhe 'ajabe....

Hindi--Sansār kar ho pūje kul ko jagat sarāhe
Makke meṅ koi dhūndhe Kāshī ko koi chāhe
Duniyā meṅ apne pī ke payyāṅ parūṅ nā kāhe

Farsi--Har qaum rāst rāhe dīne wa qiblagāhe
Man qibla rāst kardam bar simt-e-kajkulāhe: kajkulāhe 'ajabe

Translation:

O wondrous tilted cap....

Let all the world worship God, let humanity praise the Divine.
One may seek Him in Mekka, one may search Him in Kāshī (Benares).
I have found my Beloved, should I not prostrate before Him?
Every people has its right path, its faith and its focus of worship;
I, however, focus my worship on the tilted cap of my Beloved:
O wondrous tilted cap

Form and Structural Realization:

khamsa and Recitative Scheme

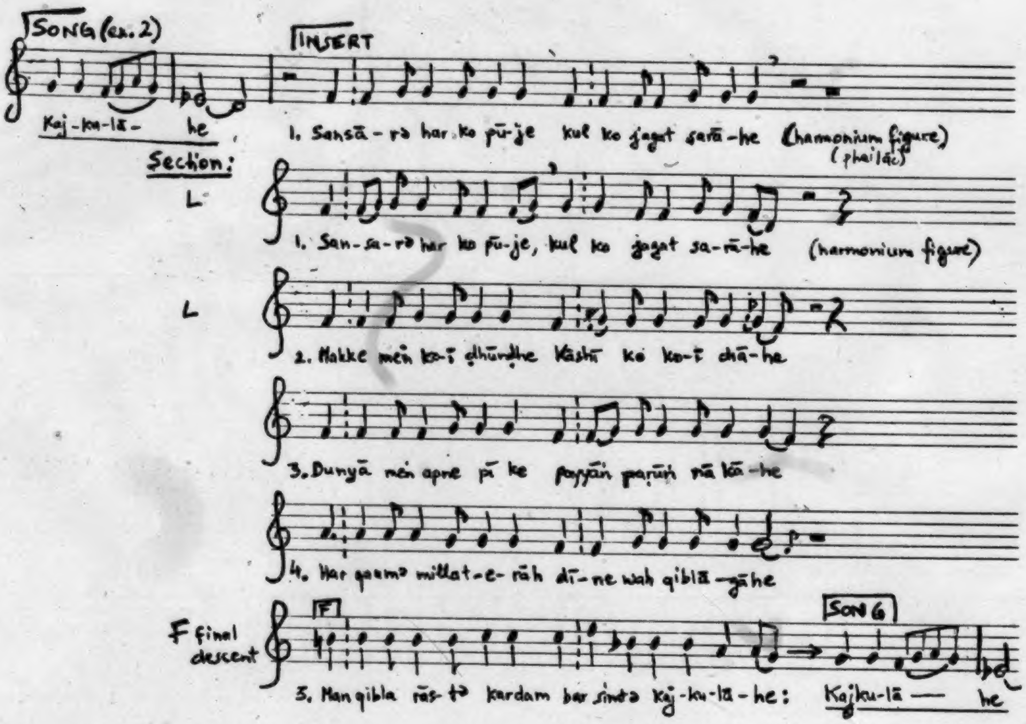
Text	Music	
Line a	Initial and	I
a	intermittent	I
a	stationary levels	I
a	Penultimate ascent	P
a	Final descent	F

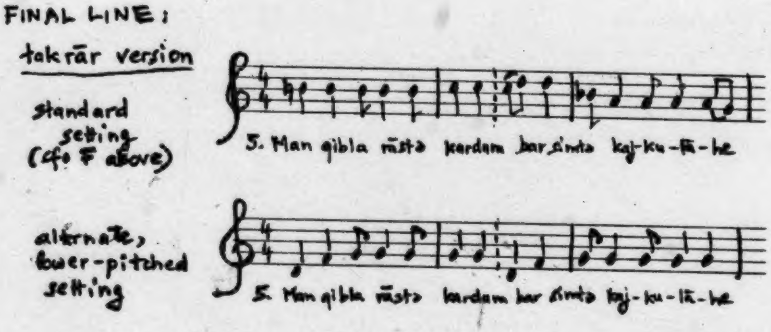
Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

muzārī 1, recitative rendering

— — ⏑ | — ⏑ — — | — — ⏑ | — ⏑ — —

Musical Setting


SONG (ex. 2)
Kaj-ku-lā- he
INSERT
1. Sansā-rə har ko pū-je kul ko jagat sarā-he (harmonium figure)
(phailāc)
Section:
L
1. San-sa-rə har ko pū-je, kul ko jagat sa-rā-he (harmonium figure)
L
2. Makke meṅ ko-ī ḍhūṇḍhe Kāshī ko ko-ī cā-he
3. Dunyā meṅ apne jī ke payyāṅ paṛūṅ nā kā-he
4. Har qaumə millat-e-rāh dī-ne wah qiblā-gāhe
F final descent
F
SONG
3. Man qibla rās-tə kardam bar sintə Kaj-ku-lā-he:
Kajku-lā — he


FINAL LINE:
takrār version
standard setting (cf. F above)
5. Man qibla rāstə kardam bar sintə kaj-ku-lā-he
alternate, lower-pitched setting
5. Man qibla rāstə kardam bar sintə kaj-ku-lā-he

EX. 11: INSERT (GIRAH): MAN TURĀ DĪDAM

This is an example of a longer insert taken from a Farsi poem of Amir Khusrau. The four couplets express facets of that basic emotion in Sufism: giving up the self as an offering of love. As an insert, the set of verses can serve the elaboration of this emotion in any Sufi song; here it is applied to the opening line of Torī Sūrat (ex. 3, and Performance 1, song 4: 418), a particularly fortuitous choice because the message of the final couplet (seeing and yet not seeing the Beloved) directly and profoundly expands the meaning implied in the core concept of the song line (the Beloved's Countenance).

The poetic meter of this poem is that of the Masnavi (raml 2, see Table 14 above and ex. 4: 336). The preferred musical setting for such poems is the Masnavi tune (cf. ex. 4), even when the poem is an introductory verse or insert. Accordingly, it is the Masnavi tune which serves as a tonal frame for the recitative presentation of these verses, replacing the standard tonal pattern for such recitatives. Only in the final line of the insert the Masnavi tune, which is characterized by a final ascent, has to be modified so that the necessary descent back to the main song can be achieved. How Meraj Ahmad deals musically with this insert in the process of performance is shown in Performance 1 (pp. 421-431).

Text

(first three verses omitted)

Farsi Original:

توری صُورت کے بَلیہاری

مَن تُرا دیدَم وَلے نَہ دیدہ اَم   اے سراپا ناز قُربانت شوم

توری صورت کے بلیہاری

Transliteration:

Torī sūrat ke balhārī....
(first three verses omitted)

Man turā dīdam wale nā dīda am
Ai sarāpā rāz qurbānat shawam: Torī sūrat ke balhārī

Translation:

On your countenance I offer myself in devotion....
(first three verses related in content)

I see you, yet I see you not;
O you who are totally secret, I sacrifice myself on you:
On your countenance I offer myself in devotion

Form and Structural Realization:

ghazal and _asthāyī_ - _antarā_ turned into recitative scheme

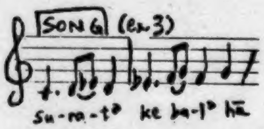
Text	Music	
Line a	antarā-	
a	asthāyī	
b	antarā-	
a	asthāyī	in recitative
b	antarā	version
a	asthāyī	
b	antarā	
a	asthāyī	+ Final Descent F

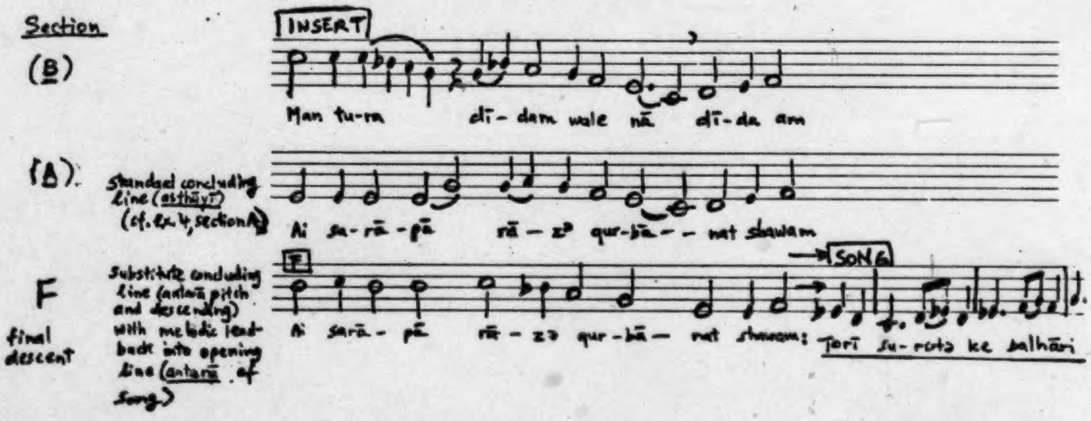
Meter and Rhythmic Realization:

raml 2 and recitative rendering

— ᴗ — —|— ᴗ — —|— ᴗ —

Musical Setting
(cf. Performance I: 348)


SONG 6
(ex. 3)
su-ra-tə ke ba-lə hā


Section
(B)
INSERT
Man tu-ra dī-dam wale nā dī-da am
(A)
Standard concluding line (asthāyī) (cf. ex. 4, section A)
Ai sa-rā-pā rā-zə qur-bā-- nat shawam
F
final descent
Substitute concluding line (antarā pitch and descending) with melodic lead-back into opening line (antarā of Song)
F
SONG 6
Ai sarā-pā rā-zə qur-bā- nat shawam:
Torī su-ratə ke balhārī

C Qawwali Performances

The Performance Occasions at Nizamuddin Auliya

At the Nizamuddin Auliya shrine a wide and representative variety of Qawwali occasions form part of the established tradition that governs the entire Islamic year, including both the two great anniversaries as well as the in-between periods of other, minor events. These occasions fall into four major categories representing distinctions significant to both performers and listeners.

1.) The intimate, "special" Qawwali occasion, or the Sufi gathering par excellence, held by one spiritual leader in a special location, most typically a shrine cell (hujrā).

2.) The major celebrational Qawwali assembly sponsored by a shrine representative in a large public place or hall.

3.) The major ritual Qawwali occasion held in front of the shrine sanctuary.

4.) The minor ritual and non-ritual occasion for singing Qawwali in front of the sanctuary (hāzirī).

1.) The Intimate, "Special" Assembly (mahfil-e-khās)

These assemblies really represent the heart of Sufi Qawwali at Nizamuddin Auliya. Both major representatives of the saint hold them in locations around the shrine during the 'urs at fixed times. Pir Zamin Nizami holds an early morning assembly in the small cell where the Saint is said to have taught and meditated; on this occasion he restricts the use of instrumental accompaniment to the harmonium, as the saint is said to have been critical of drumming. But it is Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Merzj's patron, who maintains the true Sufi tradition with his special gatherings both in the *hujrā* opposite the tomb of Amir Khusrau, and at the "*Chillā*", a most remarkable cell and gallery nearby, overlooking the Jumna river where Nizamuddin's sheikh, the saint Fariduddih Ganj-e-Shakar, is said to have performed ascetic exercises, (i.e. *chillā*, a forty-day seclusion).

In these assemblies, no uninitiated audience component imposes restraint on the sense of spiritual elation which is evoked by the sounding of the Qawwali message. Only choice Qawwals are admitted, whether it is Meraj who always performs at the Chilla assembly, or selected performers visiting the shrine during the *'urs*. The audience regularly includes major spiritual representatives, as well as cultured and well-placed devotees from Delhi and elsewhere. These gatherings are relatively short and held during daytime.

There is, however, another type of intimate "special" assembly not primarily associated with the shrine, though held there as well: the gathering of disciples around their *sheikh*. At Nizamuddin Auliya a few such assemblies are held when disciples of one guide visit the shrine for an occasion like the *'urs* and meet there to share the experience of a Qawwali assembly or *mahfil.* Spiritually at the same level as the other type of "special" assembly, this type of gathering may not always include high-status listeners, but the spiritual bond between those present is particularly intense. Meraj sings at several such assemblies by customary arrangement; indeed, the setting suits him most particularly.

The Performance Examples consist of two events that serve to exemplify each of the two kinds of special assembly: One is the Chilla mahfil led by Khwaja Hasan Sani, the other is a gathering of visiting disciples at the shrine; both take place during the 'urs of Nizamuddin Auliya.

2.) The Major, Celebrational Assembly

At Nizamuddin Auliya the major Qawwali occasions celebrating anniversaries are sponsored by the three leading shrine representatives and held at a large public hall or location immediately near the shrine. These are the mainstay of every 'urs celebration. Held at night and lasting for hours, they attract the largest number of devotees and their sound is spread wide by loudspeakers.

Two of the three principal leaders at Nizamuddin Auliya each own or control a performance hall accommodating hundreds of listeners, an appropriately named "Qawwali Hall" and "'Urs Mahal" (palace) respectively. The third leader, Qazi Safdar Ali, holds his assembly in the open; it attracts a more entertainment-oriented crowd such as gathers at the fair surrounding the shrine during the 'urs, for Qazi Safdar Ali is a highly popular spiritual guide. The other two leaders, Pir Zamin Nizami and Khwaja Hasan Nizami (see p. 307 above), hold assemblies at Urs Mahal and Qawwali Hall which always include considerable a "special" audience component as well as a large common one.

It is Khwaja Hasan Sani who holds the most strictly Sufi gatherings, dominated throughout by the "special" audience. His celebrational assemblies are characterized by a special audience of high status, including saintly representatives, sophisticated devotees, and also a Sufi poet, Anwar Sabri. Khwaja Hasan Sani, at these events, represents not only the saint Nizamuddin Auliya but also his own father, Khwaja Hasan Nizami, whose tomb Qawwali Hall faces.

Each of the three major leaders is the special patron of one lead performer whose group he gives priority or first turn after the communally sung ritual hymns.

3.) The Major Ritual Qawwali Occasion

These are always held in front of the sanctuary and they attract great numbers of devotees due to the auspiciousness of the ritual occasion. They are generally of a limited duration and have a set sequence of ritual and traditional songs. Of course, the ritual recitation preceding Qawwali singing is given special importance here, since the saint is being addressed directly.

Due to the peculiar situation of collective representational rights shared between Pirzada families, no one person leads or is in charge of these events. Rather, the leading shrine representatives share in the honour of receiving all offerings. The numerous Pirzadas who attend show thereby their commitment to the saint, thus validating before a large public their claim to represent him. This demonstration takes the form of passing offerings between Pirzadas, juniors showing respect to seniors, or minor to prominent descendants. This type of offering procedure also characterizes ritual singing during all other types of Qawwali occasions. The result, to the performer, is much offering activity, though sometimes little money actually circulates. A few Pirzadas regularly express their attachment to their saintly ancestor in various characteristically personal forms of self-abandonment, and even the oldest Nizamudin Qawwal joins in this expression--though, as he himself explains, his ecstasy is only caused by the drum rhythm (zarb ke ūpar), since he lays no claim to spiritual advancement.

These events are usually characterized by large crowds of a general audience, including women who are not excluded. The performers sing commually, therefore they generally all cooperate to create as successful a performance as possible. But occasions for dispute also arise, either when lead singers try to cut each other out, or when backbenchers let others do all the work, knowing that they are entitled to a share of income anyway. However, even here--though there is no actual assembly leader--the performer's freedom of action is limited by control from the Pirzadas. Their compliance is very willing, for both Pirzadas and Qawwals have a collective interest to enhance the value of their shrine and its ritual to the visiting devotees in this most public context of a Qawwali performance.

4.) The Minor Ritual and Non-Ritual Occasion

These include a variety of Qawwali occasions all held before the sanctuary and characterized by the absence of individual leadership and by an audience which is either very scant, as during minor rituals and informal shrine singing, or extremely fluid, as during Thursday and Friday Qawwali. Because of this, they are of least significance as performance occasions of Qawwali, just as they also mean little to the performers, although someone like Meraj derives his daily minimum intake from them and he may depend on them for his subsistence when no larger events are scheduled.

PERFORMANCE 1: THE CHILLA MAHFIL

This first and primary performance example is a short but complete Qawwali event during which Meraj, the sole performer, sings three of the seven song examples discussed above (ex. 1, 3, and 4). One of these is transcribed into musical notation in part (ex. 3 in Transcription 1). Recorded on videotape, this performance is presented here in such a way as to also show how the process of observing, coding and interpreting videotape performances has served as an important data base for this study (cf. p.305f above). Accordingly, the literal video-transcription is written out, together with an interpretative text discussing the event as a performance example.

In relation to the analytical portion of the study this performance exemplifies particularly well the following aspects of music-context interaction:

general features - single performer managing an event, both as to the sequence and relative dudration of songs
- performer's focus switching
- performer's catering to status and identity of salient listeners
- performer's evaluation of listener's state in light of status and identity
- performer's response to important spiritual patron

musical strategies - using alternate tunes
- converting recitative to song
- making a successful early insert

- manipulating length of song
- using alternative endings to signal repeat
- increasing performance tempo

a) Setting

The Chilla Mahfil is held on the second day of the *'urs* of both Nizamuddin Auliya and Amir Khusrau; this is the actual death day of both, "the Auspicious Seventeenth" (*sattarvīṅ sharīf*), i.e. the 17th day of the Islamic month of Rabi-us-Sani and Rajab respectively. As instituted by Khwaja Hasan Sani (henceforth referred to as K), this assembly is timed to precede the anniversary ritual (*qul*, *khatam*) which is held at the sanctuary after 11 a.m. on that day; accordingly, it is slated to begin at about 10 a.m. and to last for at most one hour, so that the participants can return to the shrine in time for the ritual. Because of this special situation, the Qawwali performance at this event is exclusively Meraj's to manage.

The Chilla Mahfil is perhaps the most exclusive or intimate Qawwali event at Nizamuddin Auliya. Due to its somewhat remote location (see above p. 372) only a limited number of committed devotees attend, all connected in some personal way to the leader K.

At this particular event Meraj finds the expected components of special listeners among his audience of nearly 30 (see list of participants p.383f below). Representing the spiritual status hierarchy are not only his patron with his two brothers, but also two representatives from the shrine in Ajmer, abode of the Chishti founder-saint. One of these, Syed Haleem Chishti (H), is a special friend of the leader (K) and a regular visitor at Nizamuddin Auliya

6

anniversaries; he is well known for his sophistication and receptive sensitivity to Qawwali, as well as for his generosity. The other, Syed Zainul Abedin (Z), is a first-time visitor, young and newly installed as the titular representative (dīwān) of the Ajmer saint after his father's death. He formally tops the hierarchy at this, and indeed at any Qawwali assembly in India, therefore he is the final recipient of all offerings, even though in personal standing and seniority H, the other Ajmer representative, is far above him. Meraj is aware of this constellation and especially of his own patron's close association with the senior representative whom he is therefore prepared to favour with special consideration.

Another special listener who claims and gets Meraj's attention is Anwar Sabri (A), a well-known Sufi poet who is always part of Khwaja Hasan Sani's special audience. Meraj notes a number of other spiritual personages, including local representatives of lesser saints. Two of them are distinctly newcomers; one was already identified to Meraj as a first-time visitor from a shrine in Eastern India (R), the other one, from his apparel, looks like a Sufi visiting on the 'urs from Pakistan. Both are yet to be assessed as listeners.

Other prominent listeners belong to the worldly status category. Meraj notes with satisfaction the presence of several well-to-do devotees and disciples of his patron's father who had a large circle of followers; some of them are businessmen from Bombay attending the 'urs. Also, as expected, the author's husband is present whose literary preference Meraj knows and appreciates as well as his invariable generosity which Meraj knows to be tied to the author's study with him. There is further the usual group of local devotees, some businessmen, others of a literary bent, and finally a few religious old men who have no particular standing other than their age.

In addition to the audience Meraj also considers the two important setting factors of the Chilla _mahfil_: it is the first formal assembly of the _'urs_, and its duration is limited--especially today, due to a late start. Meraj therefore can expect time for at most three songs, possibly only two, in addition to the two obligatory ritual hymns which are sung communally. All the more it is important for Meraj to curtail the duration of the ritual hymns, so that enough time remains for the more profitable "party" singing.

At this occasion, only Meraj's own performing group is present so that they sing the communally sung ritual hymns as well. Meraj therefore likes to take special care to let his senior accompanist lead the community singing, so that he himself appears as leader only at the start of his own party singing and uninformed listeners may not have the impression that Meraj already led and received offerings during the ritual hymns, which would reduce the impact of his party singing. But this time Meraj is making an exception because only recently his leader--and at an earlier occasion the Sufi poet (A)--expressed annoyance at the unsatisfactory vocal quality of the senior accompanist, rather an old man. Indeed, that annoyance had at that time resulted in Meraj losing his initial turn and being relegated to the end of a large Qawwali assembly. So he himself leads the hymns today, thinking that at least this will enable him to control their duration more effectively.

b) Format and Presentation

The Qawwali performance sequence of four songs which are transcribed and analysed here rests within a framework that corresponds to the standard format of a Qawwali occasion (see Table 18:130). Thus an outline of the complete event, as recorded, reads as follows:

I Recitation:	Qira't - (Koranic Passages)	- by various participants
	Shijrā (Genealogy)	- by Āshūr Mīyāṅ (S, see legend below)
	Du'a (Prayer)	- by K͟hwājā Hasan Sānī leader of the event
II Qawwali:	1. Qaul	- by communal Qawwal group, led by Merāj
	2. Rang	
	3. Masnavī	- by Qawwal party, led by Merāj
	4. Torī Sūrat	
III Recitation:	Fātehā	- by Khwājā Hasan Sānī, leader of the event

The entire Chilla event is shown as transcribed from the video recording, while the text underlying each transcribed section interprets the transcription. In this way, the event may be followed, both acoustically and visually--i.e. including the Qawwal's singing and the listeners' respectively--by reading the graph sections in sequence. Or, the interpretive text may be read in sequence with or without° reference to the graphs it interprets.

Transcription

Prerequisite to discussing a transcription is the identification of the recording that the transcription represents. The recording of the Chilla Mahfil--like all recordings used for this study--was made by the author with the simple basic purpose of obtaining a visual record of the audience responses as they occur along with the Qawwali song performance --which, of course, is recorded simultaneously. The main goal was to approach an approximation of the performer's visual perception of his audience, though at times complementary recordings were made to show the performer's behavioral "actions" as well. In spite of inevitable flaws arising from the limitations of a camera angle and from obstacles to visibility--especially in large assemblies--this goal was generally achieved, thanks mainly to the tolerance for which Sufis are rightly famed.

The transcription of these recordings was designed to make the recording useable for analysis; hence it represents on paper as accurately as possible not every move of each listener, but the behavioral information relevant to the Qawwali performance interaction. This information is visually presented in relation to the structural units of the song which provide a mechanically as well as semantically appropriate durational framework for it.

The transcription thus proceeds as follows: Along the top of the graph the structural song units are written out along a horizontal axis in which a unit of the musical meter of the song corresponds to a specific graph length. This represents the Qawwal's part of the interaction. The listeners are lined up vertically in accordance with their status position--rather than the seating order of the assembly, although that too has some relevance. With any one song segment only those listeners observed in some kind of response are recorded, for the sake of space economy and clarity. Therefore the presence of the remaining number of non-responding listeners must be kept in mind during an assessment of those listeners whose responses are recorded. These visible responses are plotted against the sequence of musical units which runs along the top of the transcription. Their timing is accurate to the metric unit or half unit, depending on the duration of the meter, a sufficient degree of precision in relation to the shortest meaningful text unit, and even adequate to represent the more subtle interaction based on musical communication (see p.428 ff). Thus each listener's state can be followed along both time and space dimensions, as illustrated below.

Legend for Transcription

i Participants' List (according to spiritual hierarchy and status):

highest saintly representatives	Z	Syed Zainul Ābedīn, descendant and titular representative (dīwān) of founder Saint Muīnuddīn Chistī at Ajmer.
	H	Syed Haleem Chishty, official representative (gaddī nashīn) of founder Saint Muinuddin Chishti at Ājmer.
	K	Khwājā Hasan Sānī, descendant and principal representative of Saint Nizamuddin Auliya; also titular representative (sajjādānashīn) of his father's shrine (Khwājā Hasan Nizāmī); Assembly leader and patron of Meraj.
spiritual status hierarchy	P	Pāshā, K's elder bother.
	M	Mehdī, K's younger brother.
	A	Anwar Sābrī, Sufi poet and devotee of Saint Alāuddīn Sābir, much patronized by K.
	S	Āshūr Mian, devotee representing Kachochā saint, in Awadh, Eastern India.
decreasing order of combined spiritual and worldly status within this assembly	L	Alī Seṯh, disciple of K's father, Bombay businessman.
	T	Tyeb Seṯh, disciple of K's father, Bombay businessman.
	Q	Saleem M.M. Qureshi, author's husband, visiting from Canada.
	Y	Young Kashmiri, devotee.
	B	Bombay devotee, youngish businessman.
	E	Delhi devotee, from old city, businessman/storekeeper.
	F	American Sufi, converted while in Afganistan.
	G	Gaswālā, has gas lantern business, traditionally donates services for Chilla Mahfil arrangements.
	D	Delhi devotee, youngish companion of Gaswālā, looking after tray of food offerings.
	O	Old devotee, companion of Anwar Sābrī, age standing.
	C	Old devotee, local, no standing otherwise.

V	Very old devotee, companion of S, age standing.
U	Sufi disciple attached to Kanpur saint, some spiritual standing and age.
J	Junior devotee, mundane garb (tight shirt).
N	Nizamuddin neighbourhood devotee, starched turban, age status but no actual Sufi.
I	Pakistani visitor, acts like saint's representative but no proper interaction, no offerings.
R	Rudauli saint's descendant and lawyer from Lucknow, but behavior defies status.
X	Small devotee, Gandhi cap, unidentified.
λ	Black-bearded devotee, unidentified.
ϵ	Dignified devotee, shervani coat and cap, mostly invisible to camera.
Λ	Corpulent devotee, local businessman, mostly invisible to camera.

Total listeners: 29

q	Qawwal who picks up offering money and makes change.

ii Participants' Index (arranged alphabetically for ease of reference):

A Anwar Sābrī, Sufi poet and devotee of Saint Alāuddīn Sābir, much patronized by K.

B Bombay devotee, youngish businessman.

C Old devotee, local, no standing otherwise.

D Delhi devotee, youngish companion of Gaswālā, looking after tray of food offerings.

E Delhi devotee, from old city, businessman/storekeeper.

F American Sufi, converted while in Afganistan.

G Gaswālā, has gas lantern business, traditionally donates services for Chilla Mahfil arrangements.

H Syed Haleem Chishty, official representative (gaḍḍī nashīn of founder Saint Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer.

I Pakistani visitor, acts like saint's representative but no proper interaction, no offerings.

J Junior devotee, mundane garb (tight shirt).

K K̲h̲wājā Hasan Sānī, descendant and principal representative of Saint Nizamuddin Auliya; also titular representative (sajjādānashīn) of his father's shrine (K̲h̲wājā Hasan Nizāmī); Assembly leader and patron of Meraj.

L Alī Seṭh, disciple of K's father, Bombay businessman.

M Mehdī, K's younger brother.

N Nizamuddin neighbourhood devotee, starched turban, age status but not actual Sufi.

O Old devotee, companion of Anwar Sabri, age standing.

P Pāshā, K's elder brother.

Q Saleem M.M. Qureshi, author's husband, visiting from Canada.

R Rudauli saint's descendant and lawyer from Lucknow, but behavior denies status.

S Ashūr Miāṅ, devotee representing Kachocha saint, in Awadh, Eastern India.

T Tyeb Seṭh, disciple of K's father, Bombay businessman.

U Sufi disciple attached to Kanpur saint, some spiritual standing and age.

V Very old devotee, companion of S, age standing.

W Awadh devotee, cultured bearing, but no prominence.

Y Young Kashmiri devotee.

Z Syed Zainul Abedīn, descendant and titular representative (dīwān) of founder Saint Muīnuddīn Chīstī at Ajmer.

Corpulent devotee, local businessman, invisible to camera.

X Small devotee, Gandhi cap, unidentified.

Black-bearded devotee, unidentified.

Dignified devotee, shervani coat and cap, mostly invisible to camera.

iii Responses (listed alphabetically:

a arm/hand raised
b bow head
c clap hands
d dig in pocket (for offering money)
e feet touched (of other person)
f face expression
h head movement (side to side)
i signalling (hand) gesture
j join hands
k kneel in prostration
l lay hand on chest
m love restlessly

n	nod head
o	exclamation, shout
p	pat devotee (usually on back)
r	rub face
s	sway
t	tap rhythmically (hand)
v	verbal expression
w	weep (hand on eyes)
x	hand on heart
AK	A makes offering to K

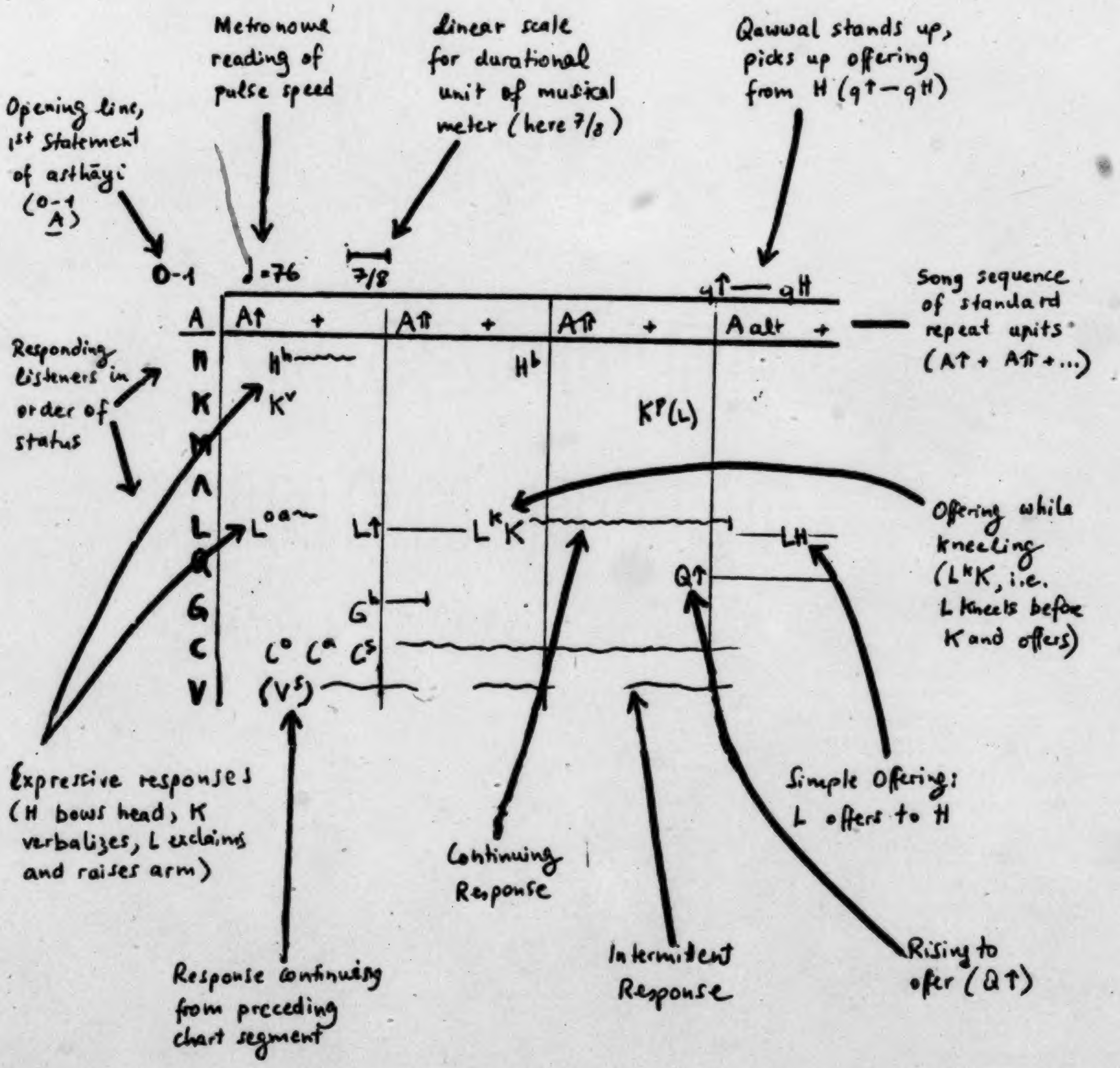
iv Application and Combinations:

A^a	A raises arm
A^s	A sways
A^{ss}	A sways very intensely
$A^{s\sim\sim\sim}$	A continues to sway
A^pB	A pats B
AK	A makes offering to K
aKH	K presents A's offering to H
A↑	A gets up, rises
A↑B	A raises B
A——	A changes place, moves away
A↓	A sits down
A↓B	A seats, puts down B
A	A remains standing/walking

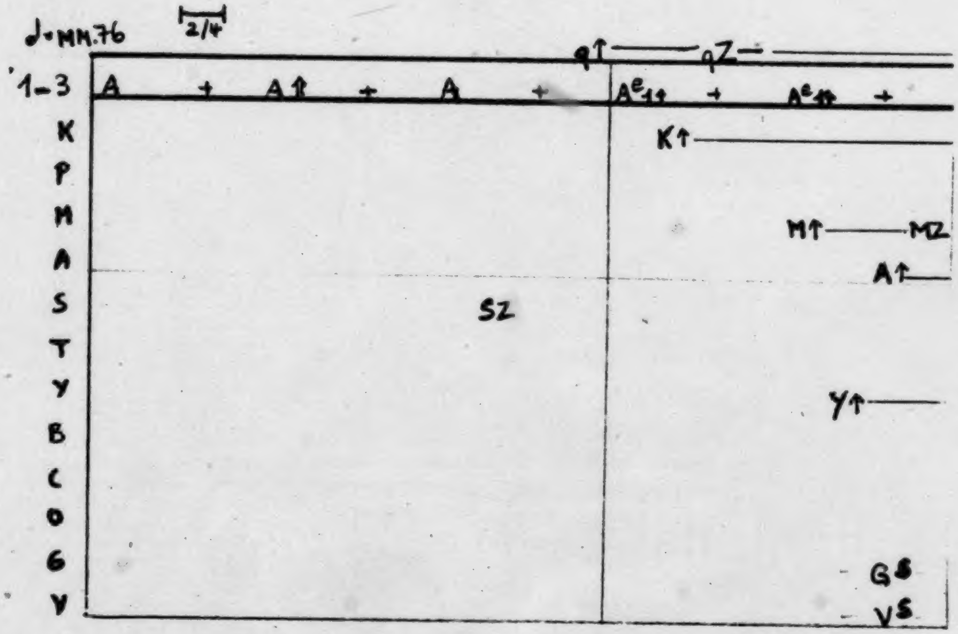
qB Qawwal picks up money from B

v Musical Symbols: (see Legend p. xxiii)

vi Transcription Layout of Graph


Metronome reading of pulse speed
linear scale for durational unit of musical meter (here 7/8)
Qawwal stands up, picks up offering from H (q↑—qH)
Opening line, 1st Statement of asthāyi (0-1 A)
0-1
♩=76
7/8
q↑—qH
A
A↑ +
A⇈ +
A⇈ +
A alt +
Song sequence of standard repeat units (A↑ + A⇈ + ...)
Responding listeners in order of status
H
K
M
A
L
Q
G
C
V
Hb
Hb
Kv
Kp(L)
Loa
L↑
LKK
LH
Q↑
Gb
Co Ca Cs
(Vs)
Offering while kneeling (LKK, i.e. L kneels before K and offers)
Expressive responses (H bows head, K verbalizes, L exclaims and raises arm)
Continuing Response
Intermittent Response
Simple Offering: L offers to H
Rising to offer (Q↑)
Response continuing from preceding chart segment

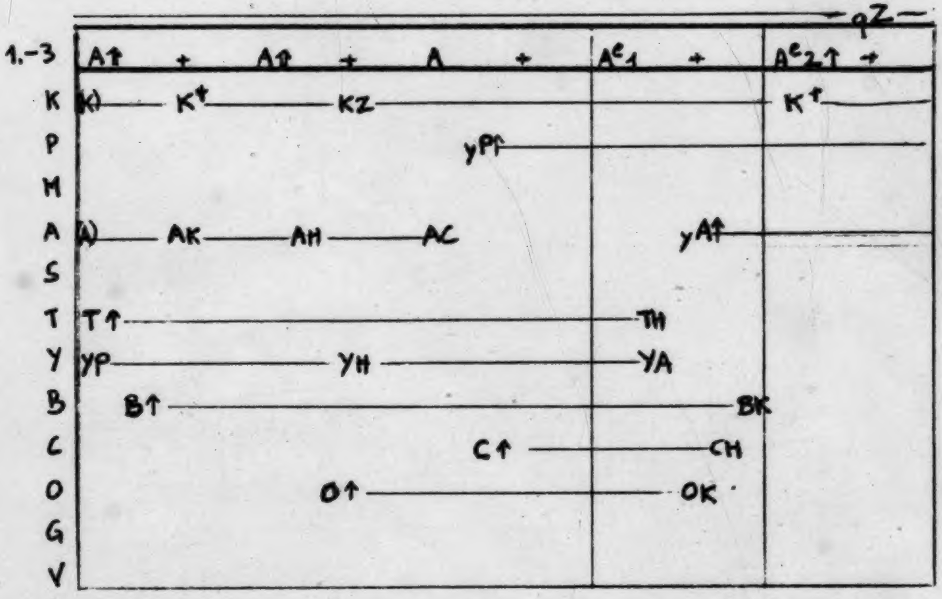
1. QAUL (Lines 1 to 3/ Section A)....


♩=MM.76
2/4
1-3
A + A↑ + A + A^e1↑ + A^e↑↑ +
q↑ — qZ —
K
P
M
A
S
T
Y
B
C
O
G
V
K↑
M↑ — MZ
A↑
SZ
Y↑
GS
VS

1. QAUL (cf. ex. 1)

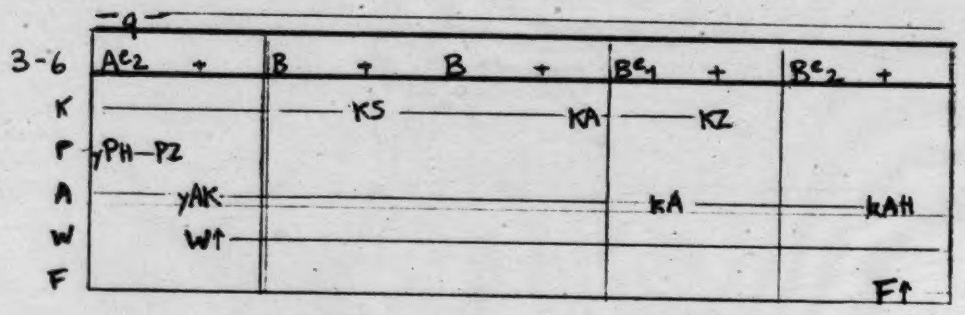
During the Qaul the spiritual leaders pay their respects to the hierarchy by offering to the highest representatives present as well as to honour each other. Since it is the short first line (A) which carries the message of the song, its presentation must be extended, to give all the opportunity to respond to it. This Meraj does by using alternate repeat endings.

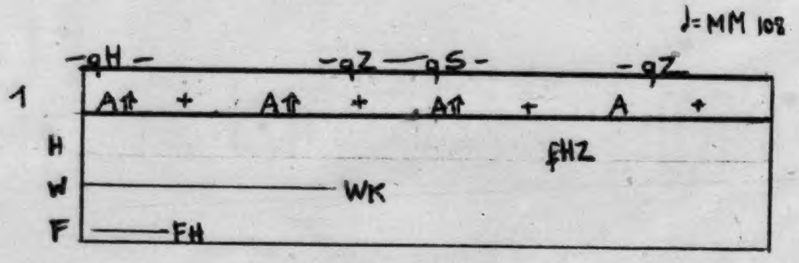
....1. QAUL (Lines 1 to 3/A)....


qZ
1.-3
A↑ + A↑ + A + A^e1 + A^e2↑ +
K
P
M
A
S
T
Y
B
C
O
G
V
(K)
K+
KZ
K+
yPf
(A)
AK
AH
AC
yA↑
T↑
TH
YP
YH
YA
B↑
BK
C↑
CH
O↑
OK

But he is also most keen to use the precious time of this short event for party singing, so that, as soon as he guages the high point of offerings to be over, he moves on to complete a minimal statement of the reaminder of the song

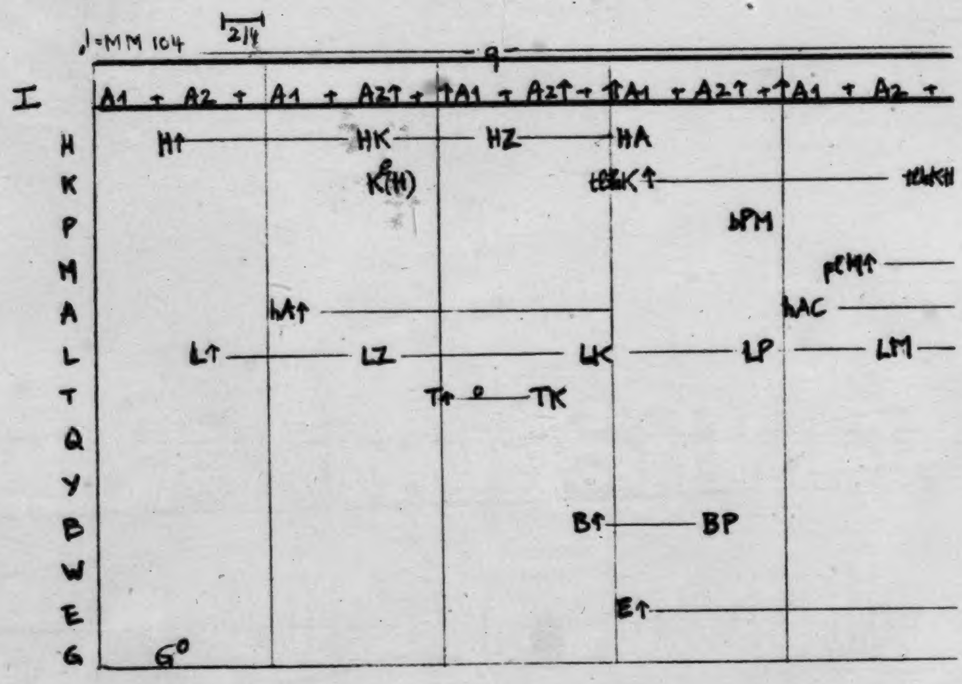
....1. QAUL (Lines 3-6/B and A)....


-q-
3-6
Ae2 + B + B + Be1 + Be2 +
K
P
A
W
F
KS
KA
KZ
yPH—PZ
yAK
kA
kAH
W↑
F↑


♩=MM 108
-qH-
-qZ-
-qS-
-qZ-
1
A⇑ + A⇑ + A⇑ + A +
H
W
F
fHZ
WK
FH

while his pickup man is already standing by (see -q- on top of chart). Waiting for two more offerings to be completed, he repeats the opening phrase just enough times (A above) to have his man pick up the last offering, immediately proceeding to the second ritual song, the Rang.

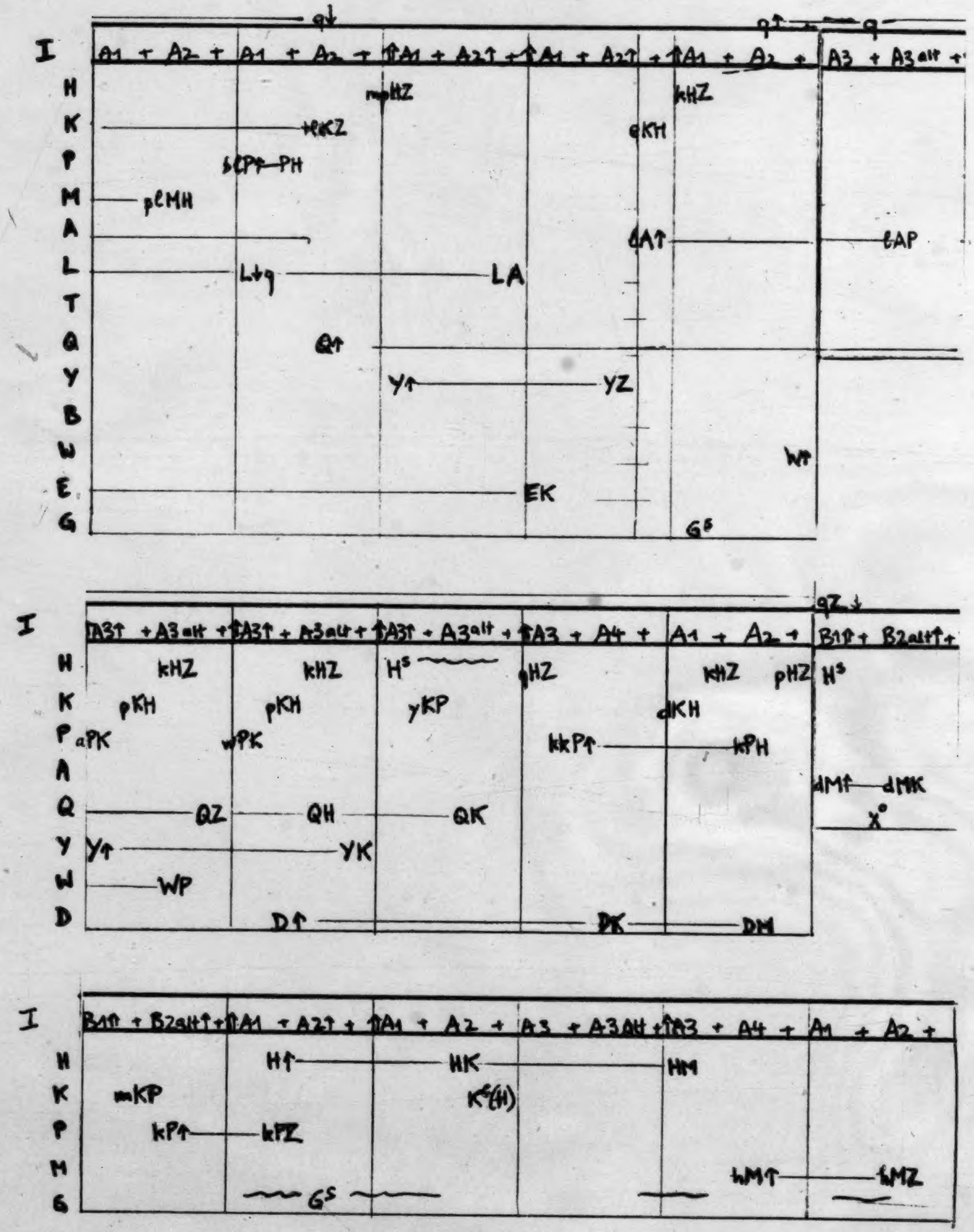
....2. RANG (Verse I)....


♩=MM 104
2/4
9
I
A1 + A2 + A1 + A2↑ + ↑A1 + A2↑ + ↑A1 + A2↑ + ↑A1 + A2 +
H
K
P
M
A
L
T
Q
Y
B
W
E
G
H↑
HK
HZ
HA
K(H)
K↑
PM
M↑
A↑
AC
L↑
LZ
LK
LP
LM
T↑
TK
B↑
BP
E↑
G°

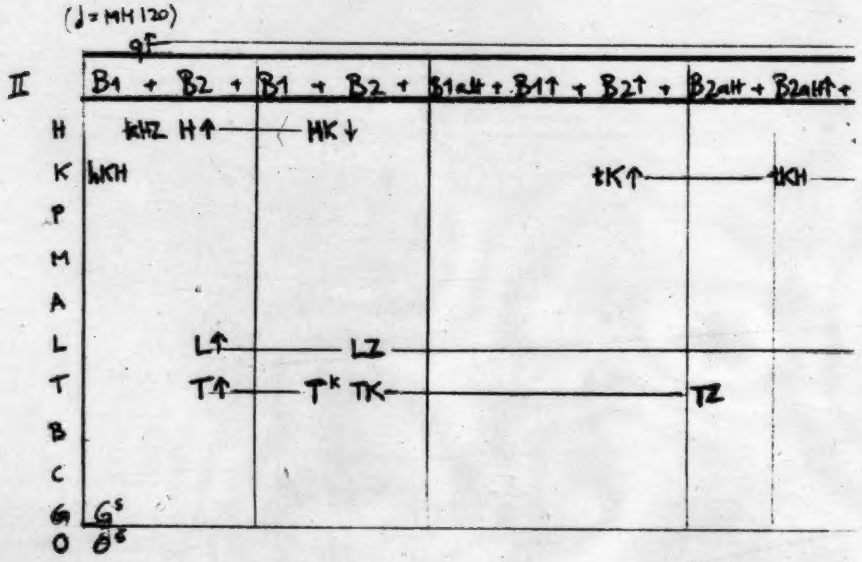
2. RANG (no Music ex.)

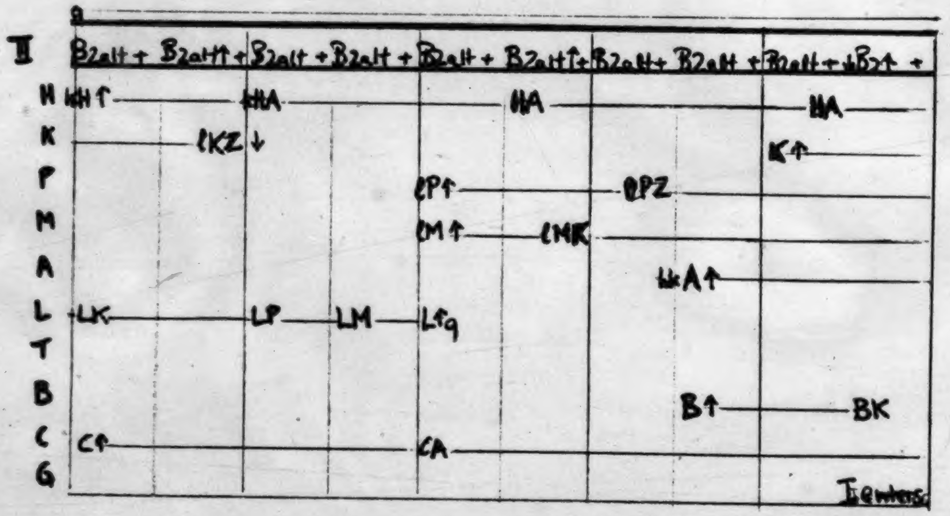
Meraj follows much the same strategy during the Rang, though this hymn is both longer and of more immediate importance to the 'urs celebration, since it celebrates Amir Khusrau's joy at finding Nizamuddin Auliya as his guide. An even greater number offers (20 persons) a total of 51 rupees, so that it all takes more time (see following pages).

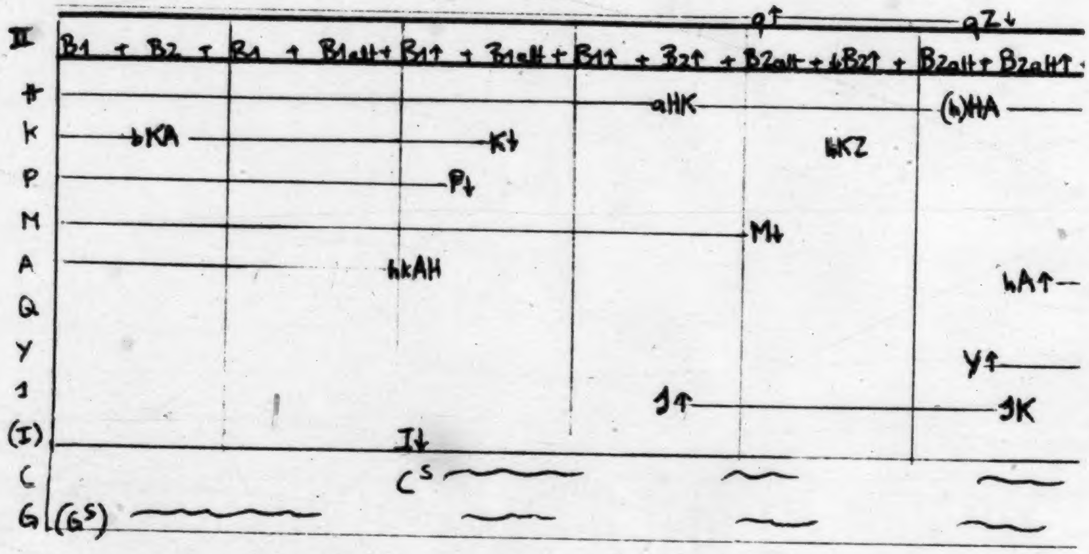
....2. RANG (Verse I)....

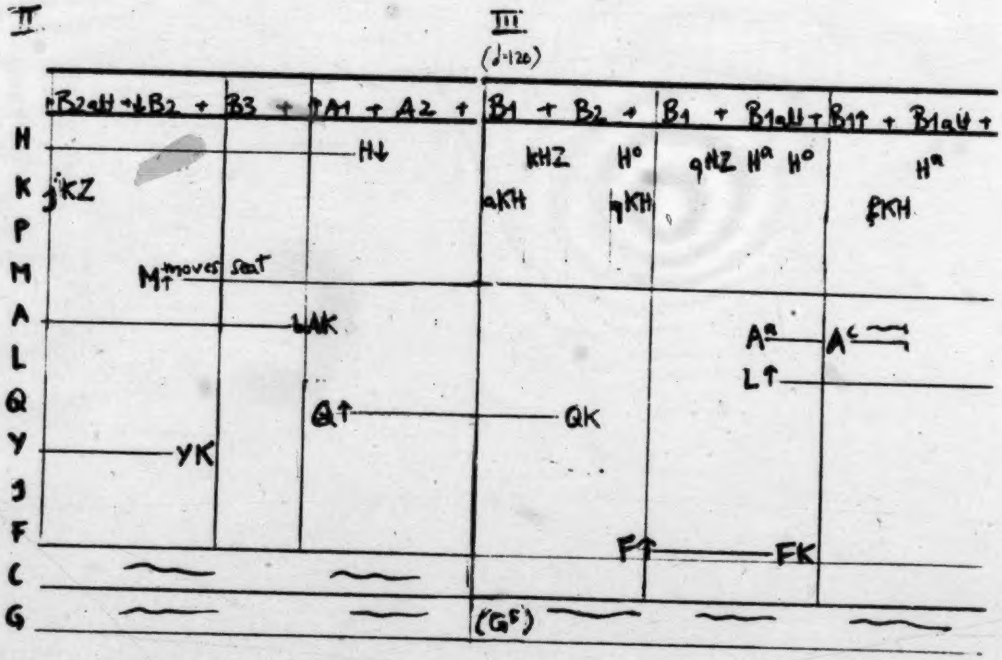

I
A1 + A2 + A1 + A2 + ⇑A1 + A2↑ + ⇑A1 + A2↑ + ⇑A1 + A2 + A3 + A3alt +
q↓
q↑ q
H
K
P
M
A
L
T
Q
Y
B
W
E
G
mpHZ
kHZ
kkZ
qKH
bCP↑ PH
plMH
qA↑
lAP
Ltq
LA
Q↑
Y↑
YZ
W↑
EK
Gs
I
⇑A3↑ + A3alt + ⇑A3↑ + A3alt + ⇑A3↑ + A3alt + ⇑A3 + A4 + A1 + A2 + B1⇑ + B2alt↑ +
qZ↓
H
K
P
A
Q
Y
W
D
kHZ
kHZ
Hs
qHZ
kHZ
pHZ
Hs
pKH
pKH
yKP
dKH
aPK
wPK
kkP↑
kPH
dM↑
dMK
X°
QZ
QH
QK
Y↑
YK
WP
D↑
DK
DM
I
B1⇑ + B2alt↑ + ⇑A1 + A2↑ + ⇑A1 + A2 + A3 + A3alt + ⇑A3 + A4 + A1 + A2 +
H
K
P
M
G
H↑
HK
HM
mKP
Kc(H)
kP↑
kPZ
Gs
hM↑
hMZ

....2. RANG (Verse II)....

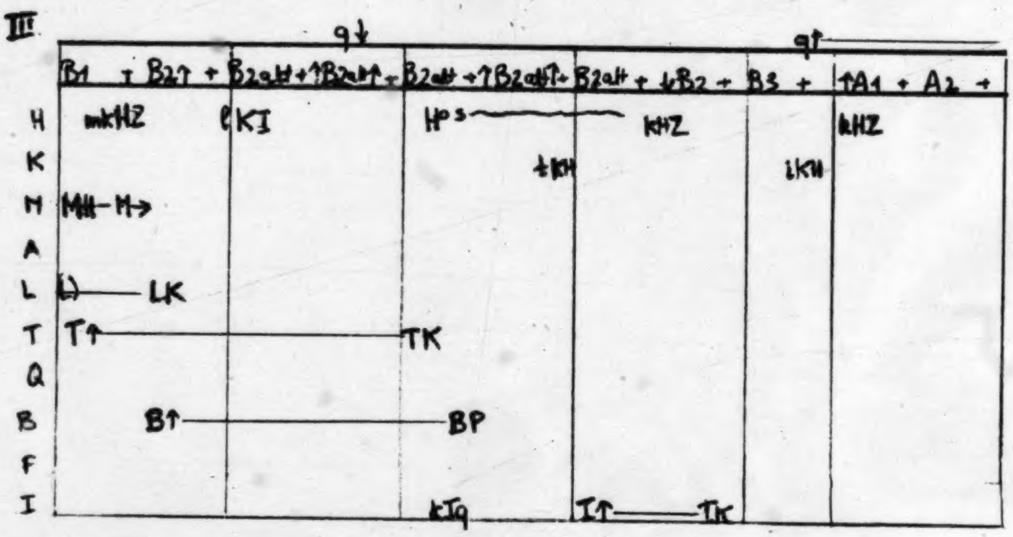

(♩= MM 120)
qF
II
B1 + B2 + B1 + B2 + B1alt + B1↑ + B2↑ + B2alt + B2alt↑ +
H
K
P
M
A
L
T
B
C
G
O
hHZ H↑
HK↓
hKH
tK↑
tKH
L↑
LZ
T↑
T^K TK
TZ
G^s
θ^s

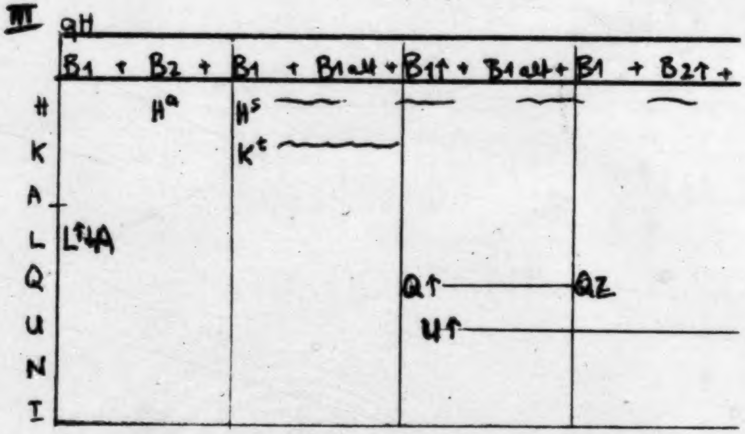

a
III
B2alt + B2alt↑ + B2alt + B2alt + B2alt + B2alt↑ + B2alt + B2alt + B2alt + ↓B2↑ +
H
K
P
M
A
L
T
B
C
G
hH↑
HA
HA
HA
ℓKZ↓
K↑
ℓP↑
ℓPZ
ℓM↑
ℓMK
hA↑
LK
LP
LM
L↑q
B↑
BK
C↑
CA
I enters

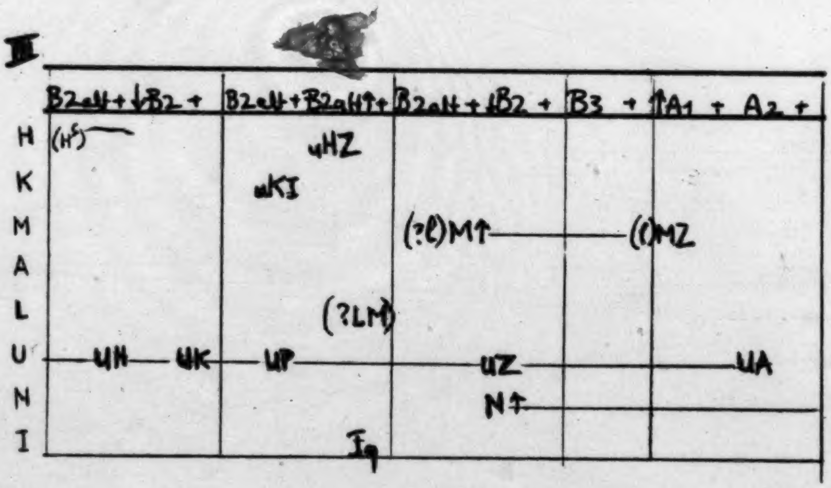

II
B1 + B2 + B1 + B1alt + B1↑ + B1alt + B1↑ + B2↑ + B2alt + ♭B2↑ + B2alt + B2alt↑ +
q↑
qZ↓
H
K
P
M
A
Q
Y
J
(I)
C
G
♭KA
K↓
P↓
M↓
♭kAH
aHK
♭KZ
(♭)HA
♭A↑
Y↑
J↑
JK
I↓
C^s
(G^s)


II
III
(♩=120)
+B2alt + ♭B2 + B3 + A1 + A2 + B1 + B2 + B1 + B1alt + B1↑ + B1alt +
H
K
P
M
A
L
Q
Y
J
F
C
G
JKZ
H↓
M↑ moves seat
♭AK
Q↑
QK
YK
♭HZ
H°
aKH
qKH
qHZ
H^a
H°
H^a
fKH
A^a
A^c
L↑
F↑
FK
(G^s)

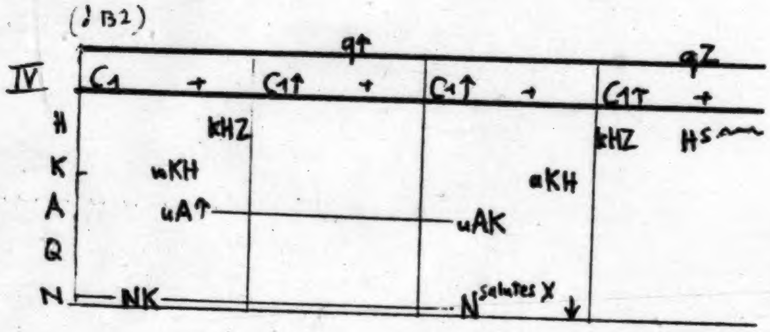
....2. RANG (Verse III)....

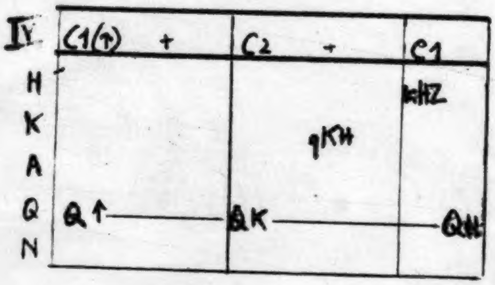

III
q↓
q↑
B1 + B2↑ + B2aH + ↑B2aH↑ + B2aH + ↑B2aH↑ + B2aH + ↓B2 + B3 + ↑A1 + A2 +
H
K
M
A
L
T
Q
B
F
I
mkHZ
lKI
Hos
kHZ
kHZ
ↆkH
ↆkH
MH—H→
(L)—LK
T↑—TK
B↑—BP
kIq
I↑—TK

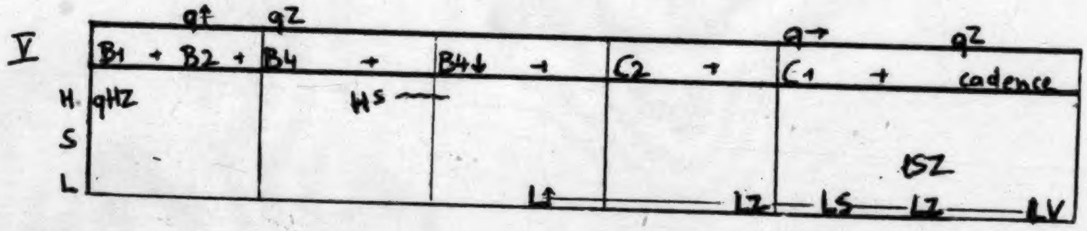

III
qH
B1 + B2 + B1 + B1aH + B1↑ + B1aH + B1 + B2↑ +
H
K
A
L
Q
U
N
I
Ha
Hs
Kt
L↑↓A
Q↑—QZ
U↑


III
B2aH + ↓B2 + B2aH + B2aH↑ + B2aH + ↓B2 + B3 + ↑A1 + A2 +
H
K
M
A
L
U
N
I
(Hs)
uHZ
uKI
(?l)M↑—(l)MZ
(?LM)
UH—UK—UP—UZ—UA
N↑
Iq

....2. RANG (Verses III-V)....

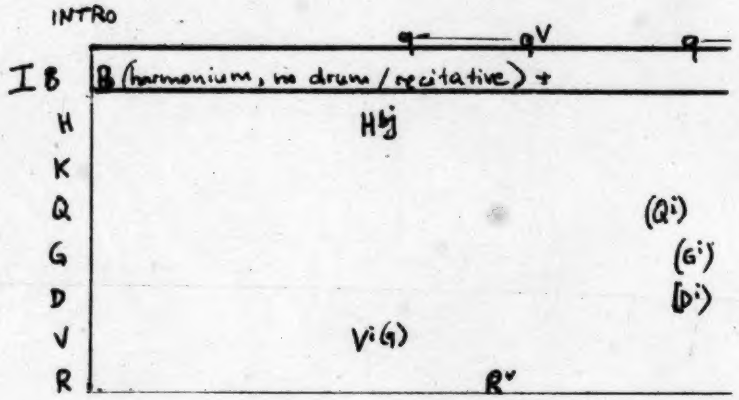

(♪B2)
IV
q↑
qZ
C1 + C1↑ + C1↑ + C1↑ +
H
K
A
Q
N
kHZ
uKH
uA↑
uAK
aKH
kHZ
HS
NK
N salutes X


IV
C1(↑) + C2 + C1
H
K
A
Q
N
kHZ
qKH
Q↑
QK
QH


V
q↑
qZ
q→
qZ
B1 + B2 + B4 + B4↓ + C2 + C1 + cadence
H
S
L
qHZ
HS
LSZ
L↑
LZ
LS
LZ
LV

The end of this song, which also marks the end of ritual singing, is announced by the briefest of cadence--an extension of the last note of the song--and then Meraj is free to begin his own personal "turn" to sing. During the Rang Meraj has been considering the choice of his first song. Given the spiritual and literary standing of his audience he deems it appropriate to begin with that most auspicious Sufi classic, the Masnavi.

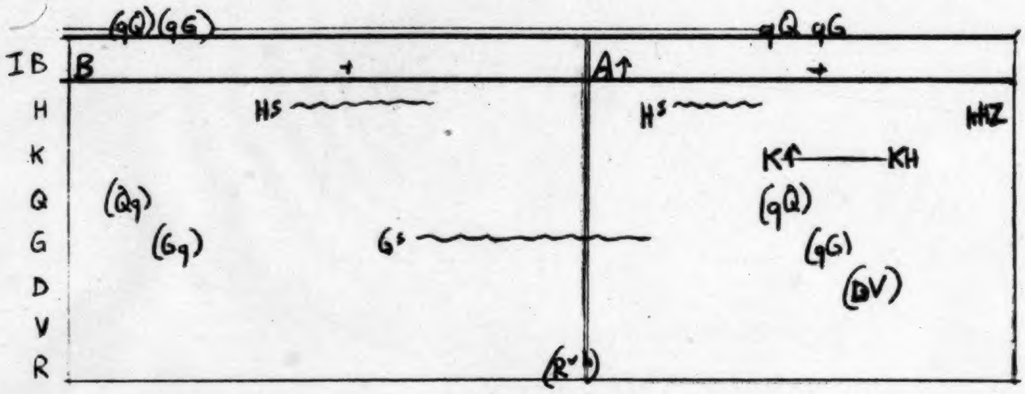
....3. MASNAVI (Verse I as Recitative)....



3. MASNAVI (cf ex. 4)

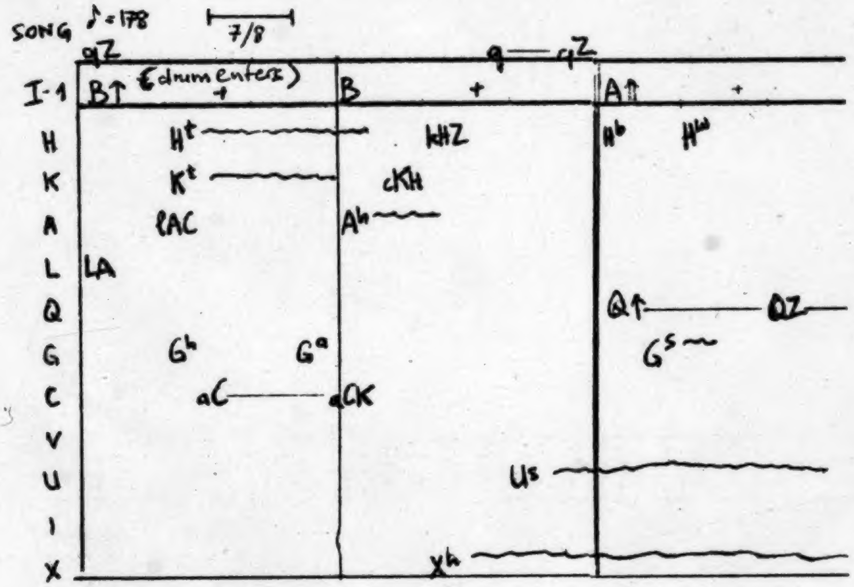
To start this song Meraj needs to lower the tonic from the previous song, because of the Masnavi tune's high register emphasis (cf ex 4: 340). Meraj first intones the opening couplet as a recitative, as is the custom for this particular song. If the response is good, he plans to convert the recitative into a song by reiterating it in regular rhythm with the drum (cf. ex. 4:340). Almost immediately Meraj sees H respond in a reverential gesture, bowing his head and joining his palms, to express symbolically his identification with the poetic message; then H begins to sway. Also three listeners signal to the Qawwals, two to change money--which indicates their wish to make more offerings.

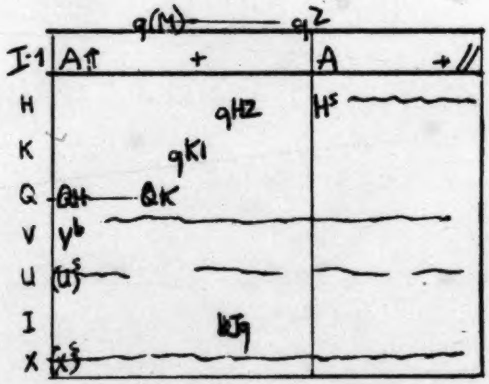
....3. MASNAVI (Verse I as recitative)....


(qQ)(qG)
qQ qG
IB
B
A↑
H
K
Q
G
D
V
R
Hs
Hs
HHZ
K↑
KH
(Qq)
(Gq)
Gs
(qQ)
(qG)
(DV)
(R)

By the second line (A) of the verse, K, the leader, rises to make an offering to H, in deference to his superior spiritual status. Meraj therefore quickly decides to turn the Masnavī recitative into a song.

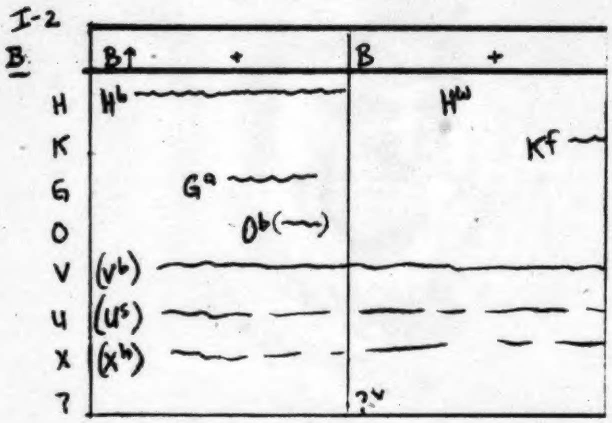
....3. MASNAVI (Verse I, Statement 1-
Lines 1 and 2/Sections B and A)....

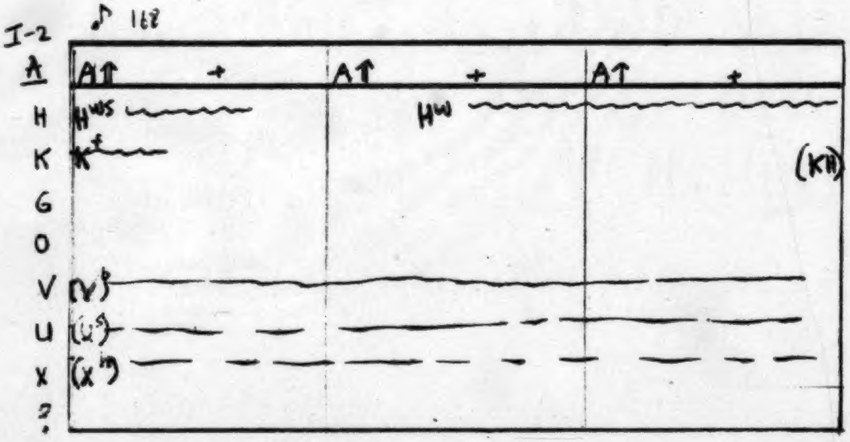

SONG ♪=178
7/8
qZ
q — qZ
I-1
B↑ (drum enters) +
B +
A⇑ +
H
K
A
L
Q
G
C
V
U
I
X
Ht
Kt
ℓAC
LA
Gh
Ga
aC
aCK
HHZ
cKH
Ah
Hb
Hw
Q↑
QZ
Gs
Us
Xh


q(M) — qZ
I-1
A⇑ +
A +//
H
K
Q
V
U
I
X
qHZ
qKI
Hs
QH
QK
Vb
(U)s
(X)s
kIq

As soon as the drum signals the start of the song, L, following his leader's lead, also offers, but to the Sufi poet A, followed on the second line (A) by Q's offerings to all three leading personages. Meanwhile, Meraj observes that both his patron and H are tapping alongwith the drum rhythm and H now bows again and starts weeping, then returns to swaying.

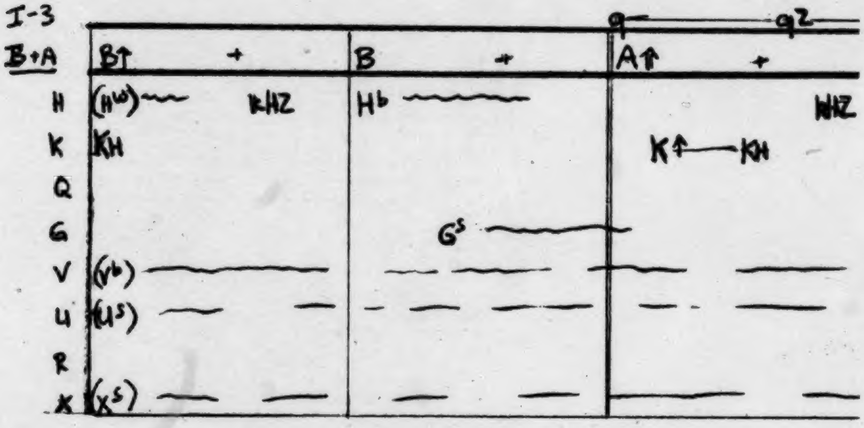
....3. MASNAVI (Verse I, Statement 2)....

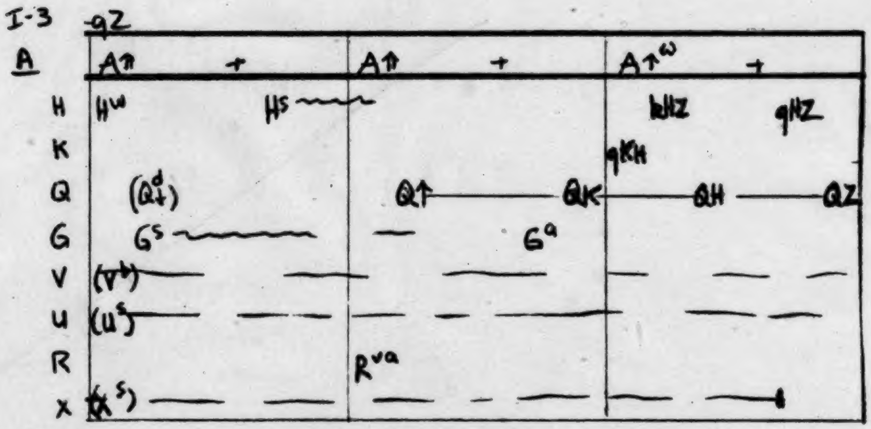

I-2
B
B↑
+
B
+
H
K
G
O
V
U
X
?
Hb
Hw
Kf
Ga
Ob(~~)
(Vb)
(Us)
(Xb)
?v


♪ 168
I-2
A
A⇑
+
A↑
+
A↑
+
H
K
G
O
V
U
X
?
Hws
Hw
Kf
(KH)
(Vs)
(Us)
(Xm)

Meraj therefore repeats the entire verse, observing H weep with more intensity, while others show light arousal. Knowing that K, the leader, never gives free expression to his mystical emotion, Meraj observes a response in K's face and therefore decides to repeat the verse, to bring out its full impact.

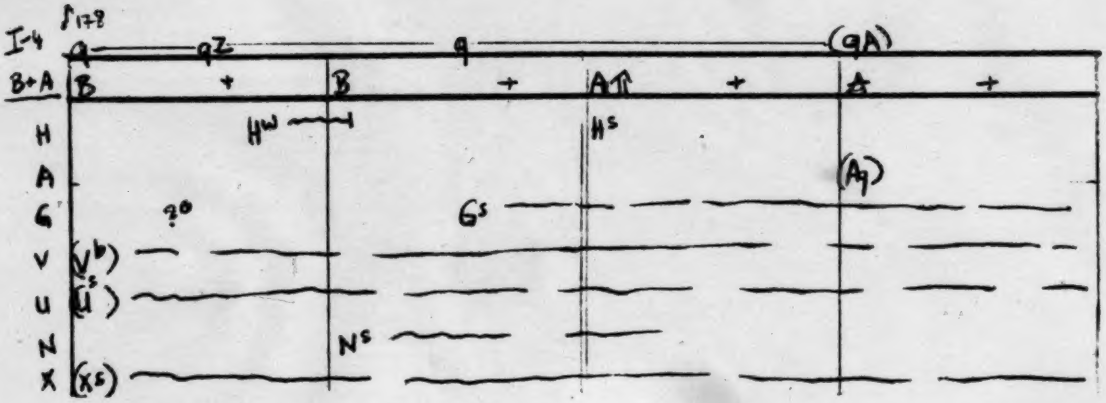
....3. MASNAVI (Verse I, Statement 3)....


I-3
B+A
q
qZ
B↑
+
B
+
A↑
+
H
K
Q
G
V
U
R
X
(Hʷ)
kHZ
Hᵇ
HZ
KH
K↑
KH
Gˢ
(Vᵇ)
(Uˢ)
(Xˢ)


I-3
qZ
A
A↑
+
A↑
+
A↑ʷ
+
H
K
Q
G
V
U
R
X
Hʷ
Hˢ
kHZ
qHZ
qKH
(Q↓ᵈ)
Q↑
QK
QH
QZ
Gˢ
Gᵃ
(Vᵇ)
(Uˢ)
Rᵛᵃ
(Xˢ)

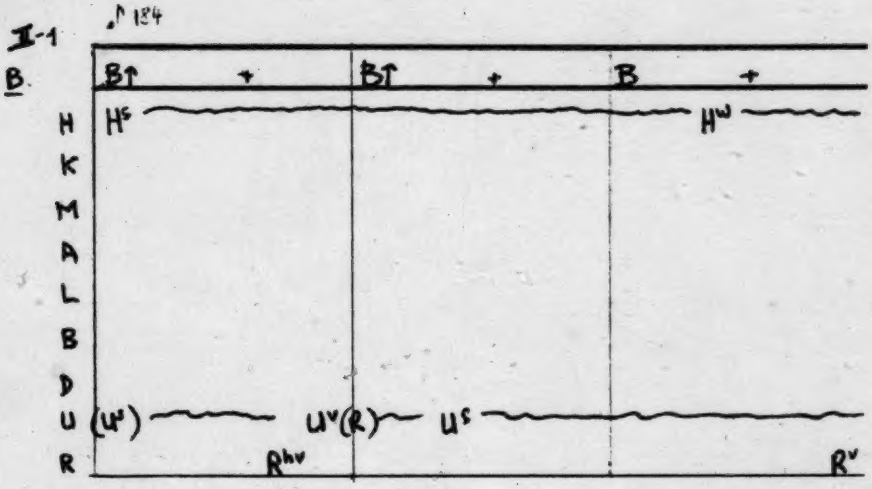
K's emotion prompts him to make two more offerings to H who weeps intermittently. Q, in appreciation of the verse, offers again.

....3. MASNAVI (Verse I, Statement 4)....


I-4
♪178
q
qZ
q
(qA)
B+A
B
+
B
+
A⇑
+
A
+
H
A
G
V
U
N
X
Hw
Hs
(Aq)
?o
Gs
(Vb)
(Us)
Ns
(Xs)

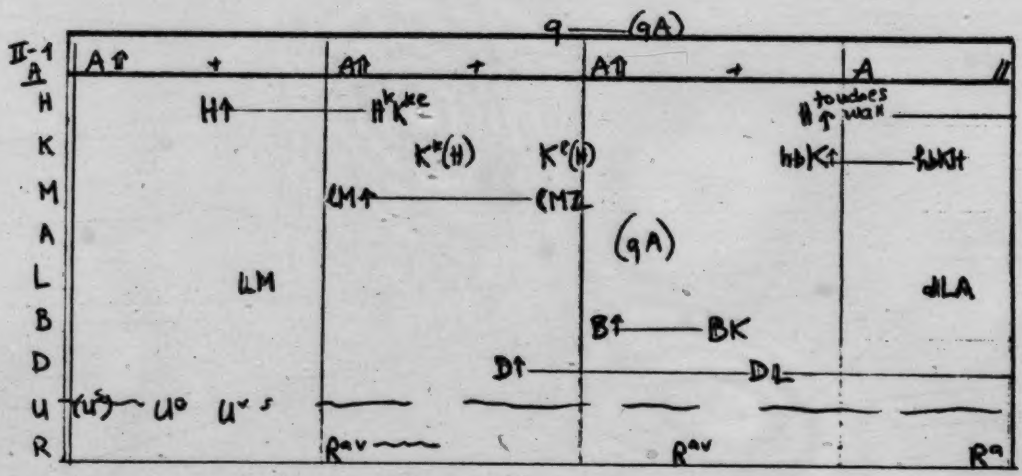
Nothing warrants multiple repetition at this time, but Meraj nevertheless is attempting to generate some intensification through a gradual increase in tempo, while repeating once more the opening verse. No change occurs in the level of arousal all around, so that, after a dual statement, Meraj decides to proceed to the second verse which he knows to be particularly effective.

....3. MASNAVI (Verse II, Statement 1)....


♪ 184
II-1
B
B↑
+
B↑
+
B
+
H
H^s
H^w
K
M
A
L
B
D
U
(U^s)
U^v(R)
U^s
R
R^hv
R^v

The first line, stated three times (B), brings no response, except for one senior devotee changing money, an indication of intended offerings.

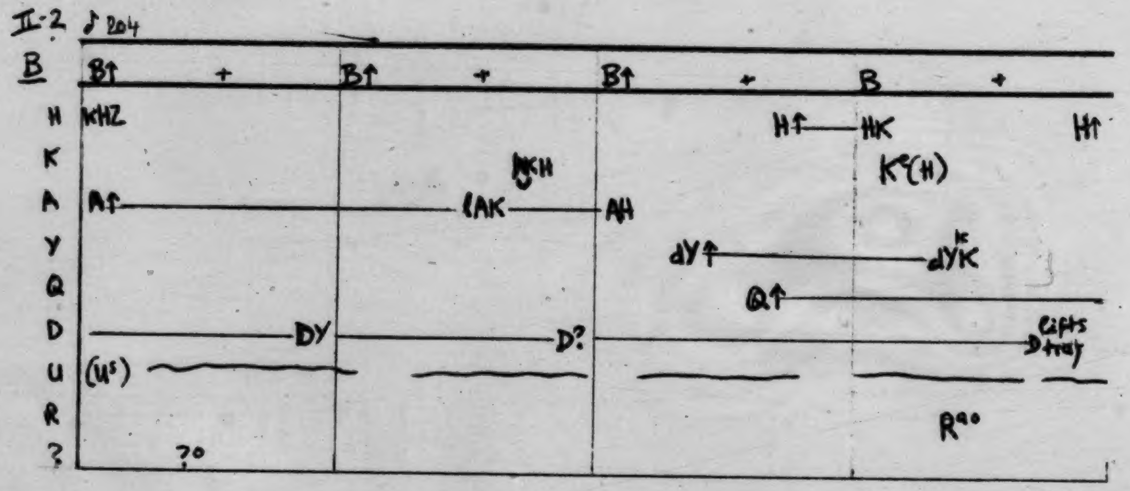
....3. MASNAVI (Verse II, Statement 1)....



It is on the second line that spontaneously H rises and kneels down before K with an offering, thus acting out the poet's textual message of submission in love (see translation p. 339). K, deeply moved by the verse and by this gesture from a spiritual superior, reciprocates the gesture, at the same time showing his deepest submission by touching the feet of H. H then rises and touches the wall behind him, hallowed abode of the saint Nizamuddin Auliya..

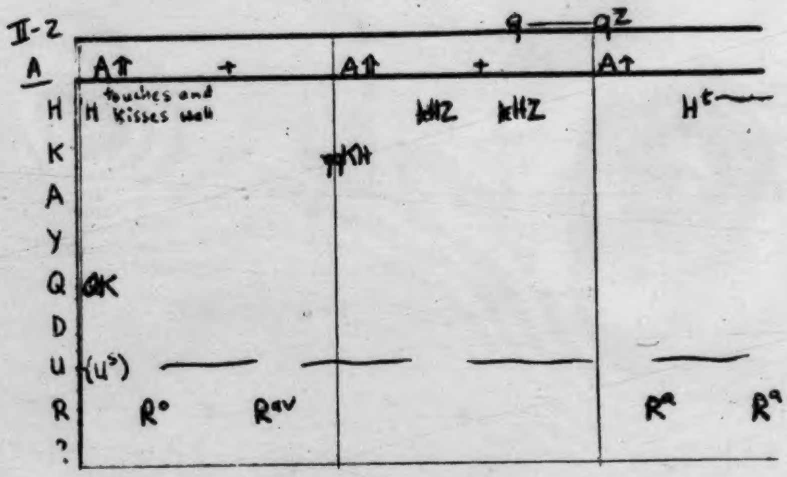
Several other offerings are received, and Meraj fully expects the heightened emotion of the leaders to have its impact on the audience, particularly on those who are personally linked to the saint by discipleship. One older disciple (U) is visibly moved, even calling out the text of the verse, but he is not offering yet (though he has changed money earlier in the verse and might wish to offer). Meraj therefore decides to repeat the entire verse.

.....3. MASNAVI (Verse II, Statement 2-Line 1/B)....


II-2
♪ 204
B
B↑
+
B↑
+
B↑
+
B
+
H
K
A
Y
Q
D
U
R
?
KHZ
H↑
HK
H↑
KH
K^e(H)
A↑
ℓAK
AH
dY↑
dY^K K
Q↑
DY
D?
lifts D tray
(U^s)
R^{ao}
?o

In the light of the second line, once stated, the first line (B) has now a greater impact; several offer in order to add a validation of their mystical love, to that of the two leaders.

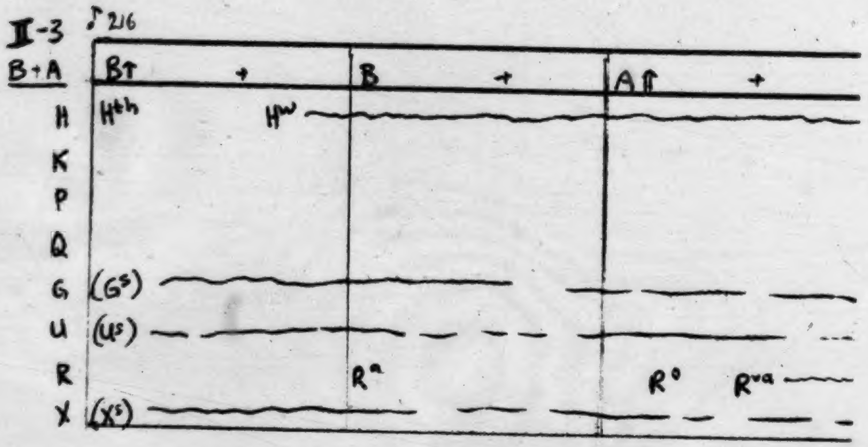
....3. MASNAVI (Verse II, Statement 2-Line 2/A)....

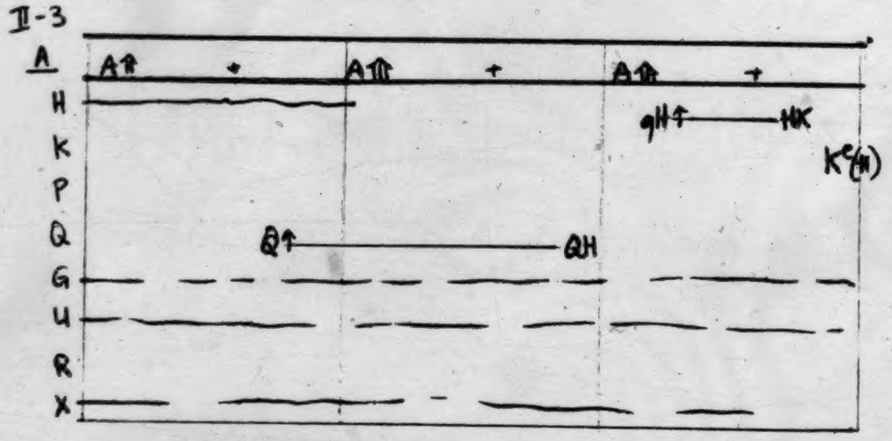


On the restatement of the second line, however, the impact subsides, except for the continued arousal of H and repeated exclamations and gestures coming from R, the visiting saintly representative. D moves the tray of food offerings to be distributed later, but that is of no concern to Meraj. Meraj is beginning to discount R's frequent responses, for R is expressing himself almost continuously, yet he has not focussed his enthusiasm on any part of the song, nor validated his link with an offering even once. Obviously, his behavior is not in keeping with his status and spiritual identity.

However, Meraj always takes H's responses most seriously and thus decides to repeat this verse once more now, also hoping for some more offerings.

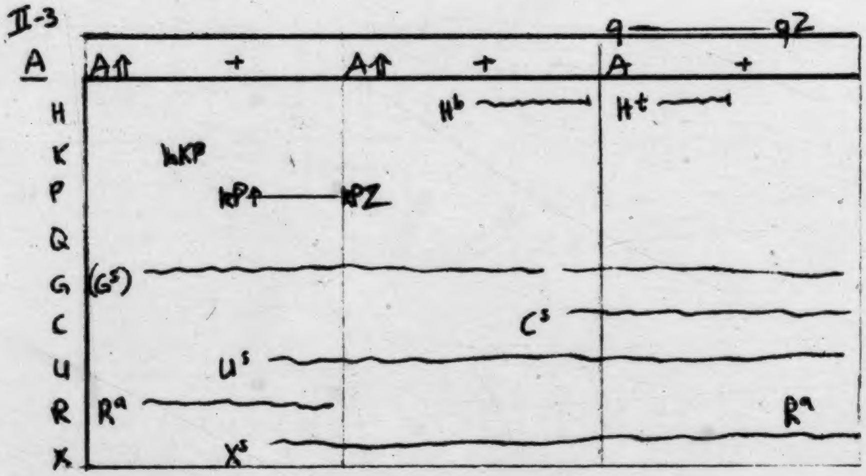
....3. MASNAVI (Verse II, Statement 3-Lines 1 and 2/B and A)....


II-3
♪216
B+A
B↑
+
B
+
A⇑
+
H
K
P
Q
G
U
R
X
H^th
H^w
(G^s)
(U^s)
R^a
R^o
R^va
(X^s)


II-3
A
A⇑
+
A⇑
+
A⇑
+
H
K
P
Q
G
U
R
X
qH↑
HK
K^c(H)
Q↑
QH

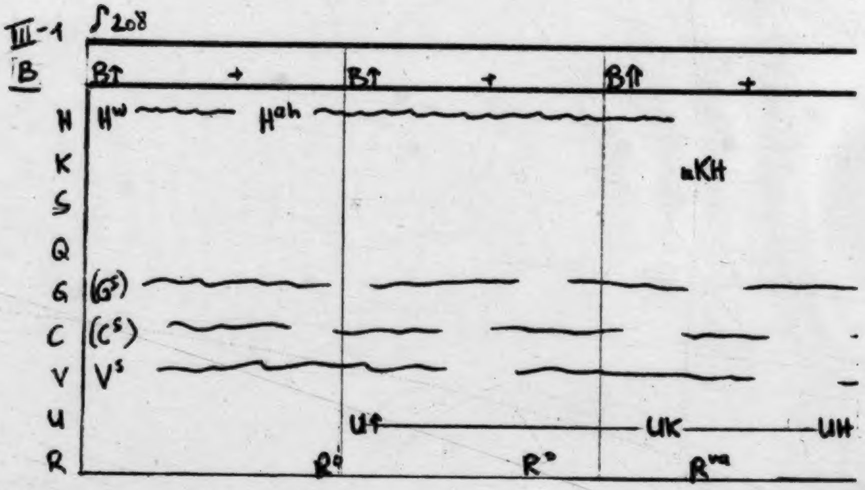
In this last attempt to generate more enthusiams for the second line (A), Meraj introduces multiple repetition, first introducing intensification by means of a higher pitch in the alternative ending A⇑.

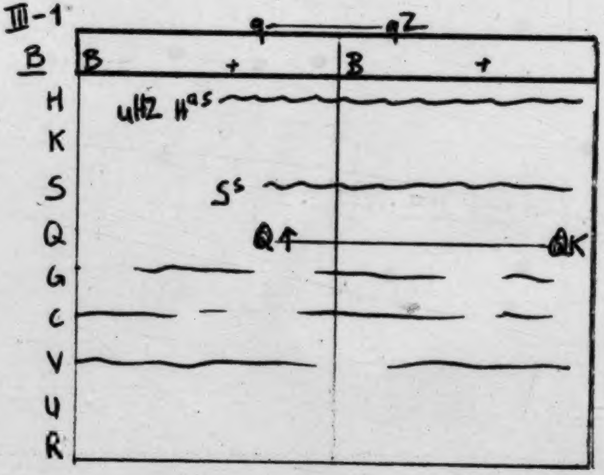
.... 3. MASNAVI (Verse II, Statement 3-Line 2/A)....


II-3
A
A⇑
+
A⇑
+
A
+
q
qZ
H
K
P
Q
G
C
U
R
X
H^b
H^t
kKP
kP↑
kPZ
(G^s)
C^s
U^s
R^a
R^a
X^s

But only one rupee comes to K who rises to offer it to his elder brother, in recognition of his chronological seniority. So as soon as this offering has reached its destination in the hands of the pickup man, Meraj moves on, now deciding to make the switch into the closely related poem by Amir Khusrqu which addresses the saint Nizamuddin directly.

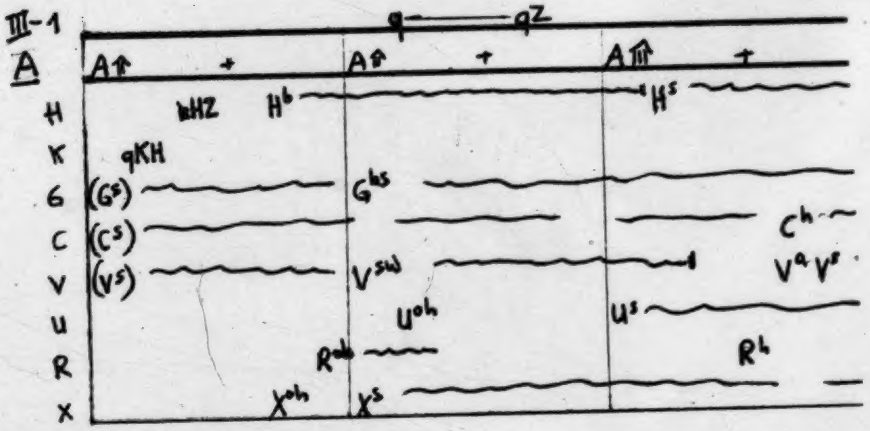
....3. MASNAVI (Verse III, Statement 1 - Line 1/Section B)....

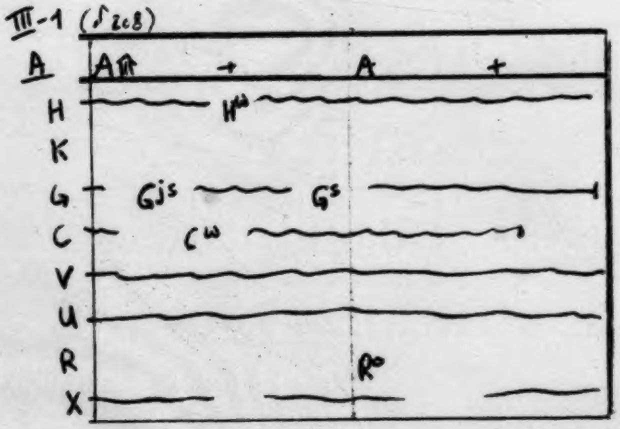

III-1
B
∫208
B↑
+
B↑
+
B↑
+
H
K
S
Q
G
C
V
U
R
H^w
H^ah
KH
(G^s)
(C^s)
V^s
U↑
UK
UH
R^o
R^o
R^m


III-1
B
q
qZ
B
+
B
+
H
K
S
Q
G
C
V
U
R
uHZ
H^as
S^s
Q↑
QK

H immediately responds by covering his face and expresses his emotion. The senior disciple (U) who was moved earlier and had continued to sway, now finally offers to both K and H. Another offering by Q is received, but Meraj is missing out on responses from those listeners who do not understand Farsi, though they are not many.

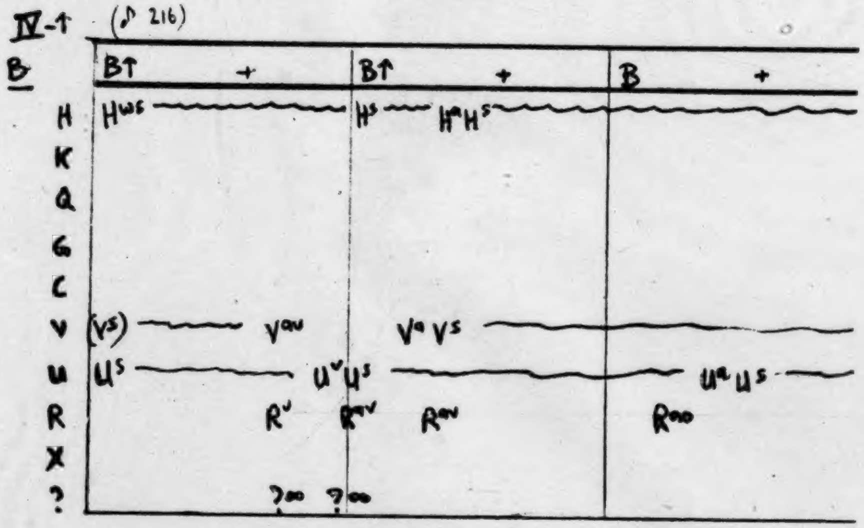
.... 3. MASNAVI (Verse III, Statement 1-Line 2/A)....

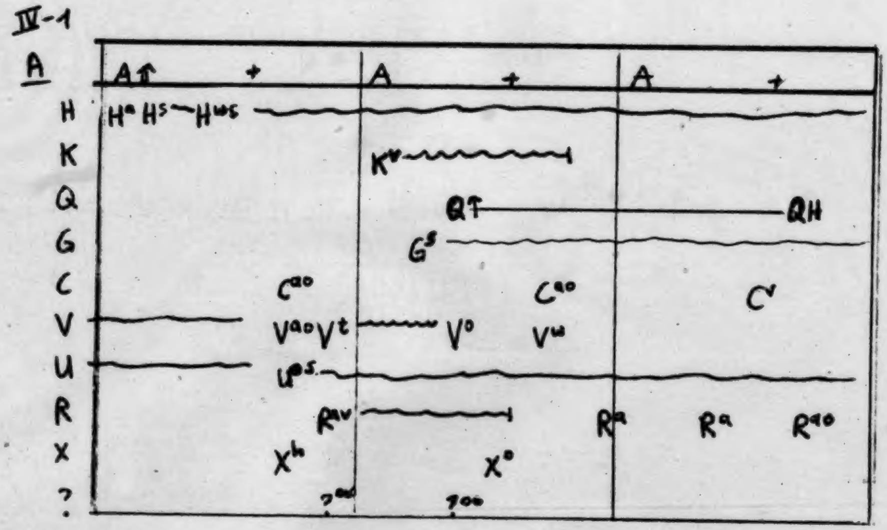

III-1
A
q
qZ
A⇑
+
A⇑
+
A⤊
+
H
K
G
C
V
U
R
X
hHZ
Hb
Hs
qKH
(Gs)
Ghs
(Cs)
Ch
(Vs)
Vsw
VaVs
Uoh
Us
Roh
Rh
Xoh
Xs


III-1 (♪208)
A
A⤊
+
A
+
H
K
G
C
V
U
R
X
Hw
Gjs
Gs
Cw
Ro

The second line yields no offerings at all, yet Meraj repeats it even intensifying it with the high pitched alternate ending, because now not only H but another very senior Sufi is showing strong emotion (V): swaying, even weeping and gesticulating. He also notes the local disciple G's emotion, but sees no intensification in any state to warrant continuing the repetition.

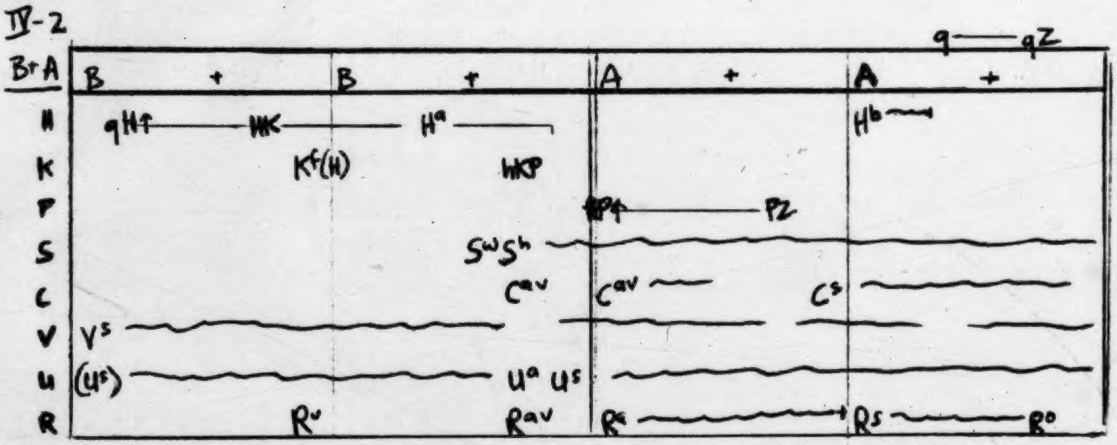
....3. MASNAVI (Verse IV, Statement 1)....


IV-1
(♪ 216)
B
B↑
+
B↑
+
B
+
H
K
Q
G
C
V
U
R
X
?
Hws
Hs
HaHs
(Vs)
Vau
VaVs
Us
UvUs
UaUs
Rv
Rav
Rav
Rao
?ao
?ao


IV-1
A
A↑
+
A
+
A
+
H
K
Q
G
C
V
U
R
X
?
HaHs~Hws
Kv
Q↑
QH
Gs
Cao
Cao
Cv
VaoVt
Vo
Vu
Uas
Rav
Ra
Ra
Rao
Xh
Xo
?ao
?ao

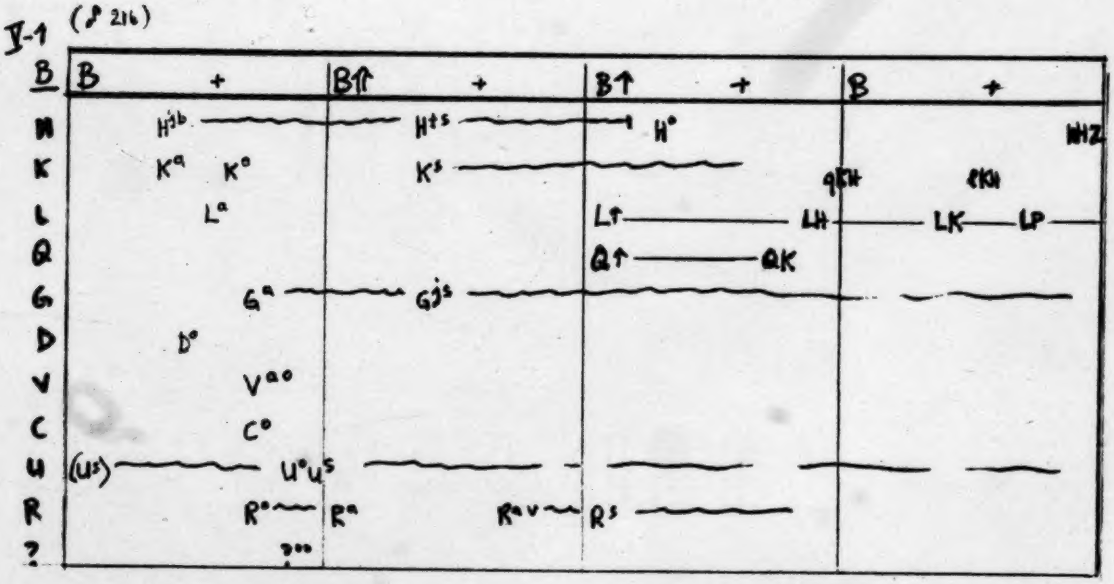
This verse is one reinforcing the message of the first one and indeed it evokes strong responses in a number of the "special" listeners, including the foremost among them, H. On the second line even K cannot contain himself from verbalizing his delight.

.... 3. MASNAVI (Verse IV, Statement 2)....


IV-2
q qZ
B+A
B + B + A + A +
H
K
P
S
C
V
U
R
qHf HK Ha
Hb
Kf(H) HKP
HPq PZ
SwSh
Cav Cav Cs
Vs
(Us) Ua Us
Rv Rav Rs Rs Ro

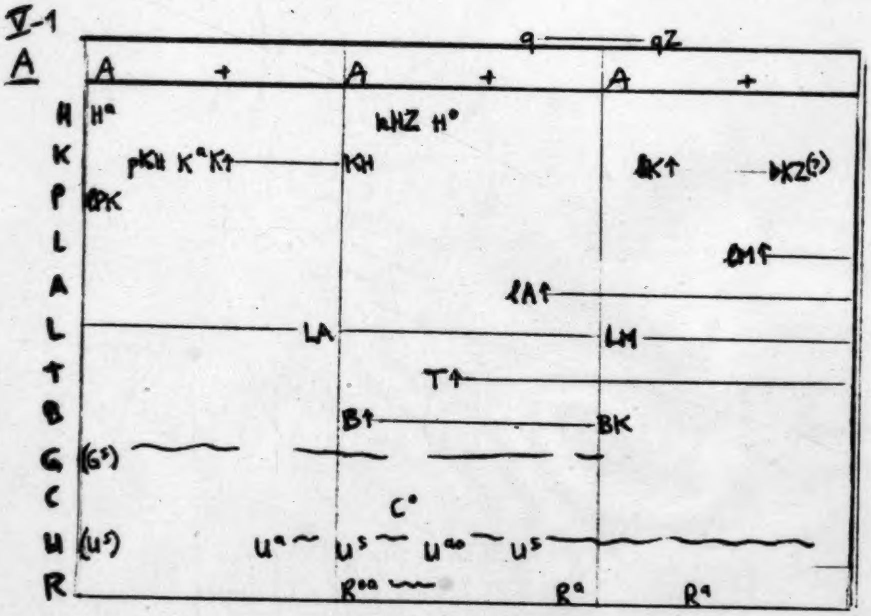
But only one offering is received which H uses to once more express his deep respect to the saint by standing up to offer it to K, the saint's representative. Meanwhile Meraj is making just one repeated statement of the verse, and as soon as that offering has reached Z and is picked up, he moves on to the last verse, even though several Sufis are still responding--because time is passing fast.

....3. MASVANI (Verse V, Statement 1 - Line 1/B)....


V-1
(♪ 216)
B
B
+
B⇑
+
B↑
+
B
+
H
K
L
Q
G
D
V
C
U
R
?
Hjb
Hts
H°
HHZ
Ka
K°
Ks
qKH
KH
La
L↑
LH
LK
LP
Q↑
QK
Ga
Gjs
D°
Vao
C°
(us)
U°us
R°
Ra
Rav
Rs

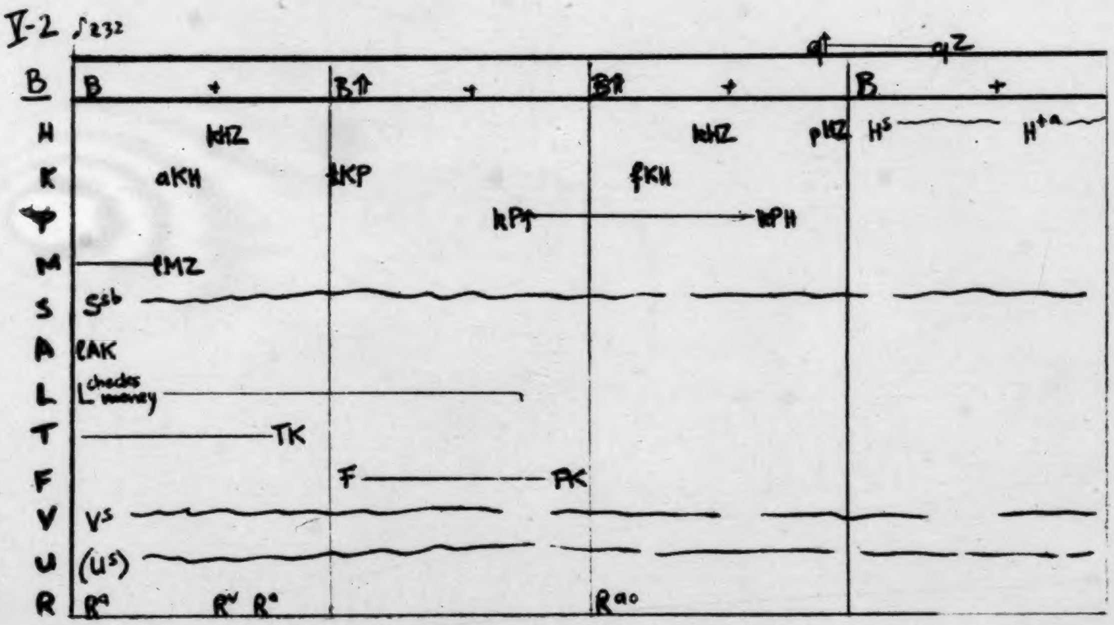
In this verse the name of the Saint Nizamuddin has the expected immediate impact of exclamations and gestures. Here the Bombay disciple, who has been less affected by this Persian poem, responds again, expressing his devotional link through offerings made to those he cherishes as being close to the saint.

.... 3. MASNAVI (Verse V, Statement 1-Line 2/A)....


V-1
A
A + A + A +
q qZ
H K P L A L T B G C U R
Ha
HNZ H°
pKH K^a K↑
KH
K↑
KZ(?)
PK
M↑
A↑
LA
LM
T↑
B↑
BK
(Gs)
C°
(Us)
U^a
U^s
U^ao
U^s
R^oa
R^a
R^a

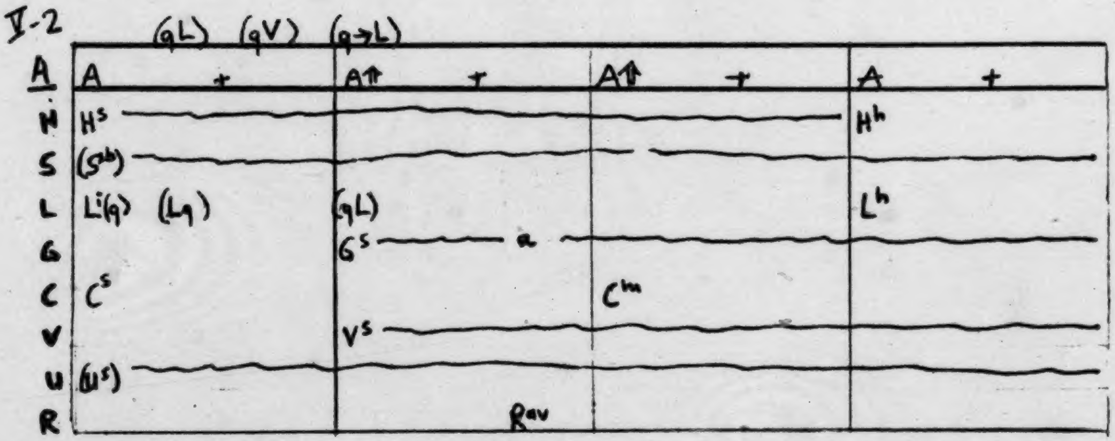
On the second line Meraj notes more offerings as well as expressional responses, so he repeats the verse.

....3. MASNAVI (Verse V, Statement 2 - Line 1/B)....


V-2
B
H
K
M
S
A
L
T
F
V
U
R
B
B⇑
B⇑
B
HHZ
HHZ
pHZ
aKH
KP
fKH
hPH
MZ
S^sb
AK
checks money
TK
F
FK
V^s
(U^s)
H^s
R^a
R^ao

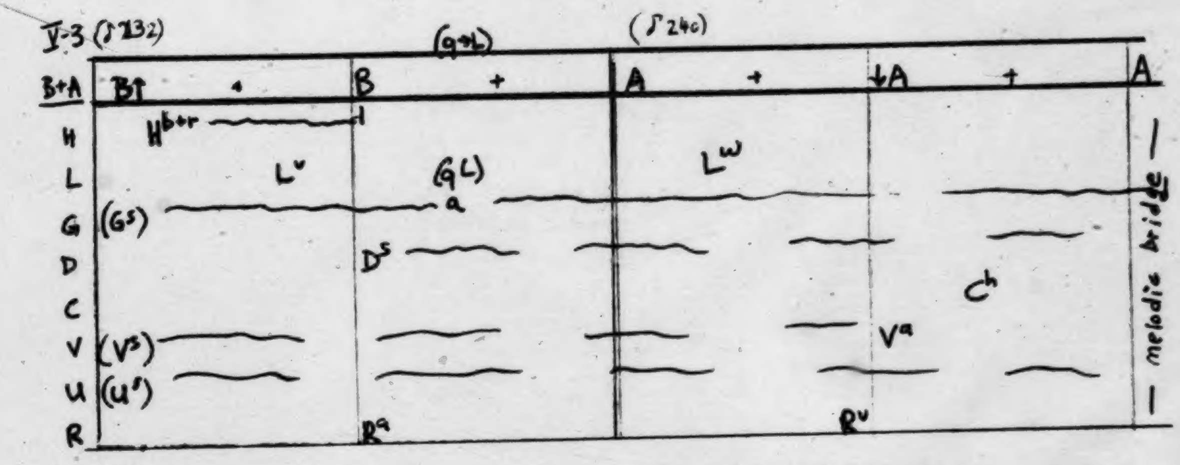
Ready to set off into multiple repetition of the first line containing the saint's name, Meraj uses the higher pitched tune ending (B⇑) for impact. But nothing much happens. A Bombay devotee (T) as well as the American Sufi (F), not knowing Farsi, have understood the saint's name and make an offering. The intensity of other expressions subsides.

.... 3. MASNAVI (Verse V, Statement 2-Line 2/A)....


V-2
(qL) (qV) (q→L)
A
H
S
L
G
C
V
U
R
A +
A⇑ +
A⇑ +
A +
H^s
H^h
(S^sb)
L^i(q) (L_q)
(qL)
L^h
G^s
a
C^s
C^m
V^s
(U^s)
R^av

By the second line, L has just obtained change again, for more offerings; so Meraj decides to repeat the verse once more, in case L wishes to offer again.

....3. MASNAVI (Verse V, Statement 3)....

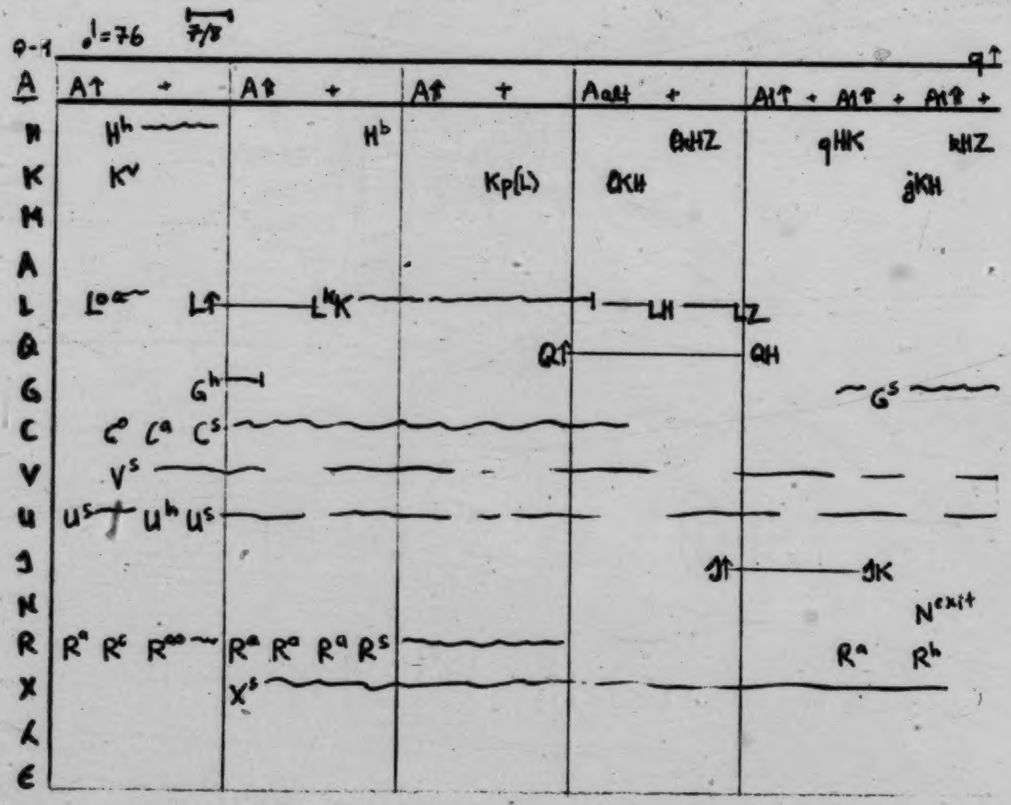


L's offering does not materialize, although he shows some arousal. But the leading Sufis are no more aroused. Meraj therefore decides to go on immediately to the next song.

During the last statement of the last verse, Meraj has also had to decide on the next song. If, as is normally the case in a Chilla assembly, there had been time for three songs, Meraj might now have considered it appropriate to insert a song in praise of the senior saint of the Chishti hierarchy, Muinuddin Chishti, in recognition of that saint's presence in the person of his two highest representatives. But today only one more song can be added, and that must express devotion to Nizamuddin Auliya. Meraj decides to complement the Farsi poem with the more direct appeal of Hindi, while contuining the thematic link with the preceding song.

He concludes the Masnavī and introduces the new selection by a brief melodic bridge, leading down to the tonic where the next song starts.

4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line/A)....

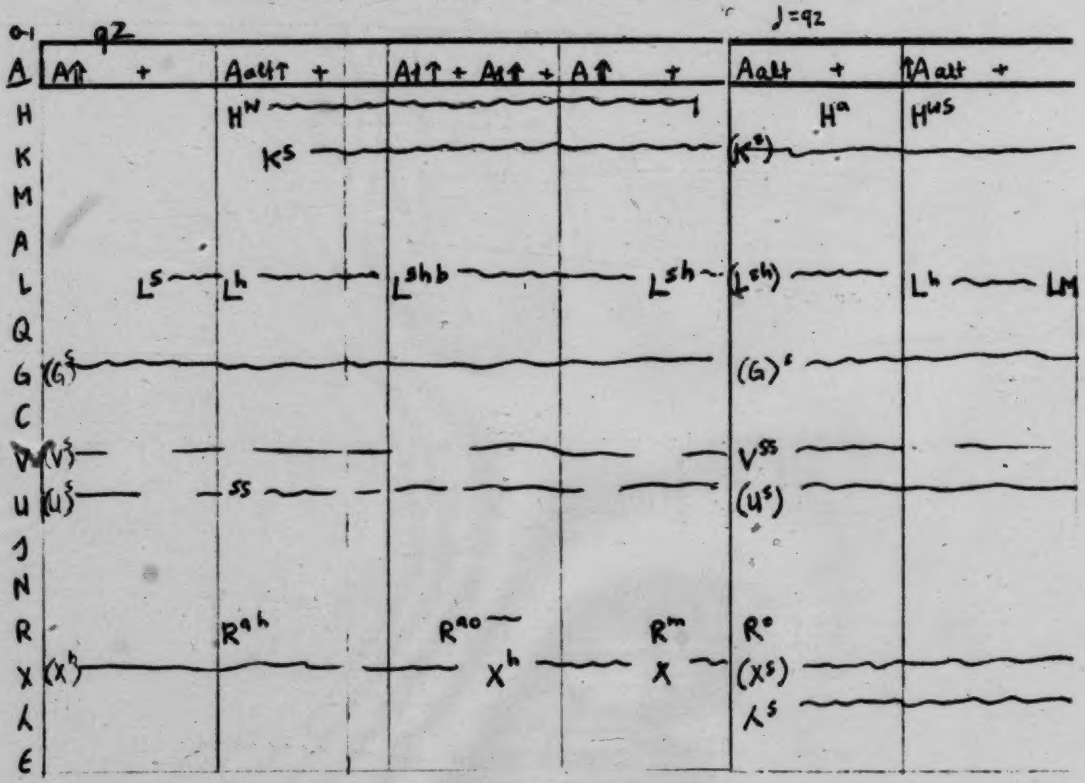


♩=76
7/8
A↑ + A↑ + A↑ + Aalt + A↑ + A↑ + A↑ +
A H K M A L Q G C V U J N R X λ E
Hʰ
Hᵇ
Kᵛ
Kp(L)
LH
LZ
Q↑
QH
Gʰ
Gˢ
Cᶜ Cᵃ Cˢ
Vˢ
Uˢ Uʰ Uˢ
J↑
JK
Nᵉˣⁱᵗ
Rᵃ Rᶜ
Rᵃ Rᵃ Rᵃ Rˢ
Rᵃ Rʰ
Xˢ

4. TORI SURAT (cf. ex. 3 and Transcription 1).

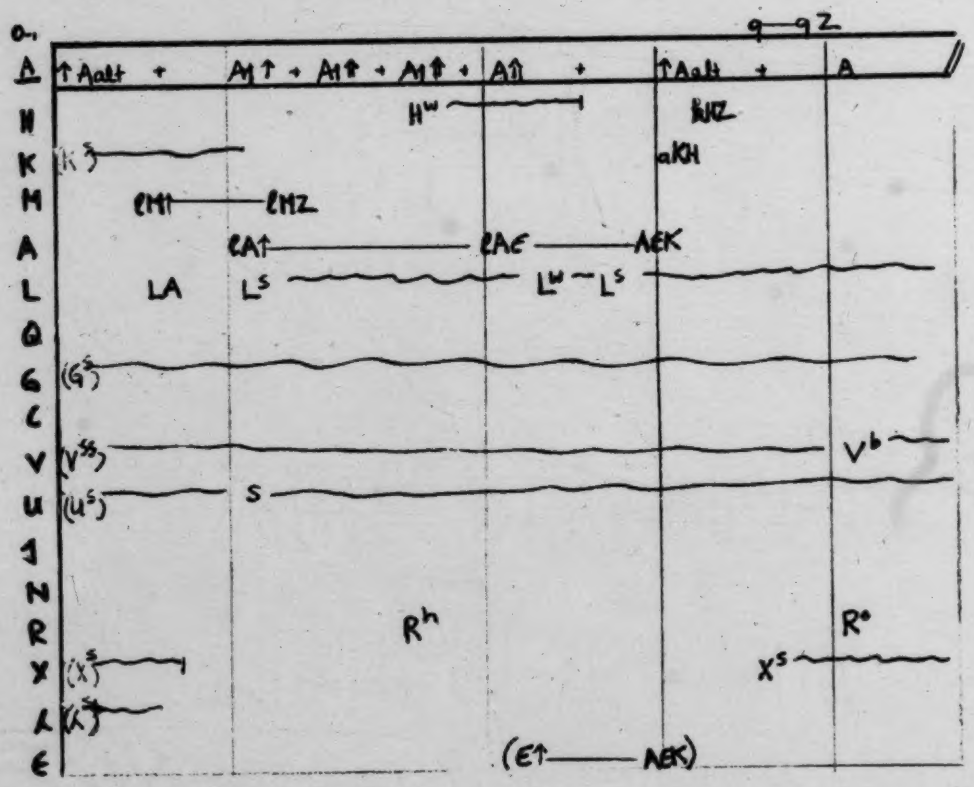
On the very start of the opening line of this favourite song the audience comes to life with immediate spontaneous response, most of all from L, who shouts, raises his arm and then cannnot restrain himself from seeking his saintly guide's son (K) thus demonstrating his devotion and allegiance by a prostration (qadambosT, cf. Table 21). In response to L's state, Meraj repeats the complete first line several times, to enable him to complete his offerings to all three leaders on the same message.

.... 4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line/A)....


♩=92
A
H
K
M
A
L
Q
G
C
V
U
J
N
R
X
λ
ε
A↑ +
Aalt↑ +
A↑ + A↑ + A↑ +
Aalt +
↑Aalt +
H^w
H^a
H^{us}
K^s
L^s
L^h
L^{shb}
L^{sh}
L^M
$(G)^s$
V^{ss}
(U^s)
R^{ah}
R^{ao}
R^m
X^h
(X^s)
λ^s

Then he inserts a brief responsorial repetition, using the initial part of the line with the salient word sūrat (face--of the Beloved), alternating with appellations of the saint "yā Mahbūb". This he intersperses with restatements of the complete line, while observing L's continued state of arousal, as well as H being moved to tears.

....4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line/A)....



q—qZ
O.
A
↑Aalt + A1↑ + A1⇑ + A1⇑ + A⇑ + ↑Aalt + A
H
K
M
A
L
Q
G
C
V
U
J
N
R
X
λ
E
H^w
HZ
(K^s)
aKH
ℓM↑ ℓMZ
ℓA↑ ℓAE AEK
LA L^s L^w ~ L^s
(G^s)
(V^ss)
V^b
(U^s)
S
R^h
R°
(X^s)
X^s
(λ^s)
(E↑ AEK)

Meraj's focus has remained on several other special listeners showing incipient arousal. To intensify the impact of the repeated statements he therefore employs the higher-pitched alternate tune (A alt) and also restates the responsorial repetition of A1. But no increase of their arousal is coming about; so he decides to insert a girah to expand on the range of meaning inherent in the opening line.

4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT)....

There is a Farsi *ghazal* by the very author of Tori Surat, Amir Khusrau, which Meraj finds particularly suited to this purpose and the associational link between the two poems--through their common author and his discipleship to the saint--is further enhancing.

First, however, he waits for a prosperous devotee (E) to complete his offering to the leader and for it to be passed up the hierarchy, to K, to H, and finally to Z(see chart on preceding page), so that his pickup man can receive and deposit it on the harmonium and no distraction interferes with the recitation he is about to begin.

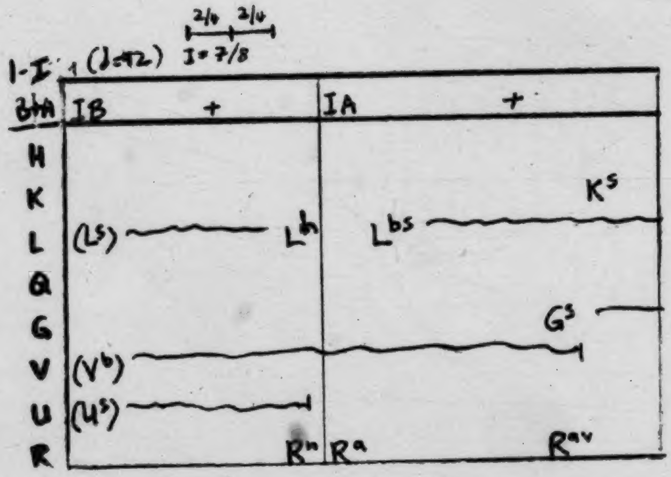
After the briefest melodic transition on the harmonium (see chart on preceding page), Meraj intones the first of four couplets that the insert consists of. Since the poem is set to the same poetic meter as the Masnavi (see Table 14), Meraj likes to enhance its associational impact further by singing it to the Masnavi tune, but of course in recitative style, using a free rhythm and omitting alternative endings, as befits an inserted verse. The only place where such an ending will be needed is at the end of the insert, to signal the return to the main song.

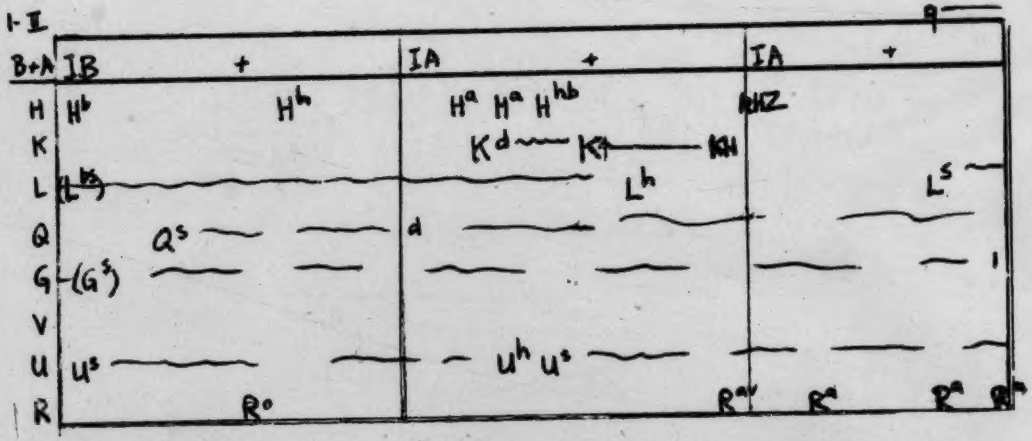
This tune does not correspond to the melodic frame of a *girah*, however. A *girah* must at the end descend from a high pitch so as to lead back into the main song, whereas the last line of every Masnavi couplet starts low and actually rises in pitch. This means that Meraj will have to modify the tune of the last line of the insert, starting it high, in order to allow it to descend and lead back into the main song.

The four couplets of this insert are all variations on the recurrent theme of self-sacrifice in love, as expressed in the reiterated monorhyme qurbānat shawam ("I sacrifice myself on You", see ex. 11). But it is the last couplet which introduces in its first line a second dimension, related most ingeniously to the meaning of the opening line of the song and expanding it in an unexpected and profound was (see translation, p. 308).

Meraj is expecting the entire insert to affect spiritually sophisticated listeners and thus keeps a sharp eye on the senior Sufis in the audience as he begins the eight-line sequence.

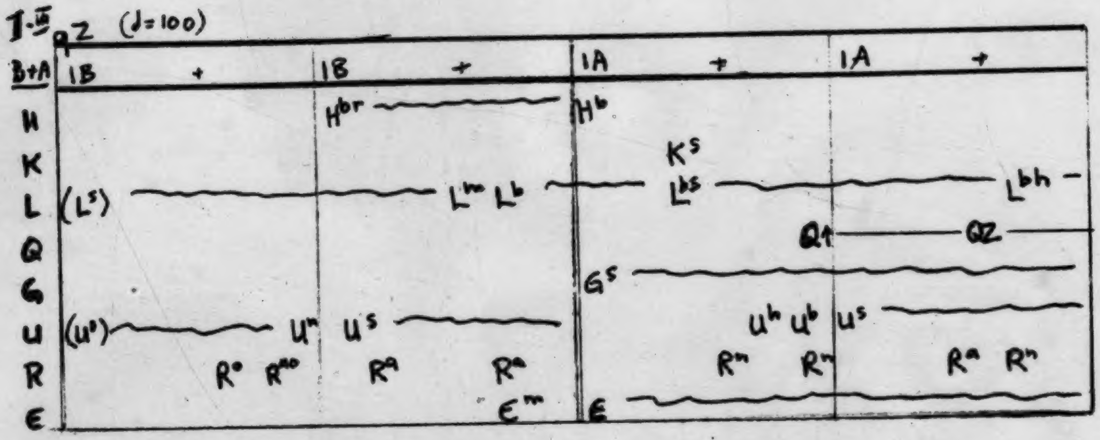
....4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT Verse I and II)....


1-I
(♩=72)
2/4 2/4
I = 7/8
B+A
IB
+
IA
+
H
K
L
Q
G
V
U
R
(L^s)
L^h
L^bs
K^s
G^s
(V^b)
(U^s)
R^n
R^a
R^av


1-II
B+A
IB
+
IA
+
IA
+
H
K
L
Q
G
V
U
R
H^b
H^h
H^a H^a H^hb
K^d
L^h
L^s
Q^s
d
(G^s)
U^s
U^h U^s
R^o
R^av
R^a
R^a

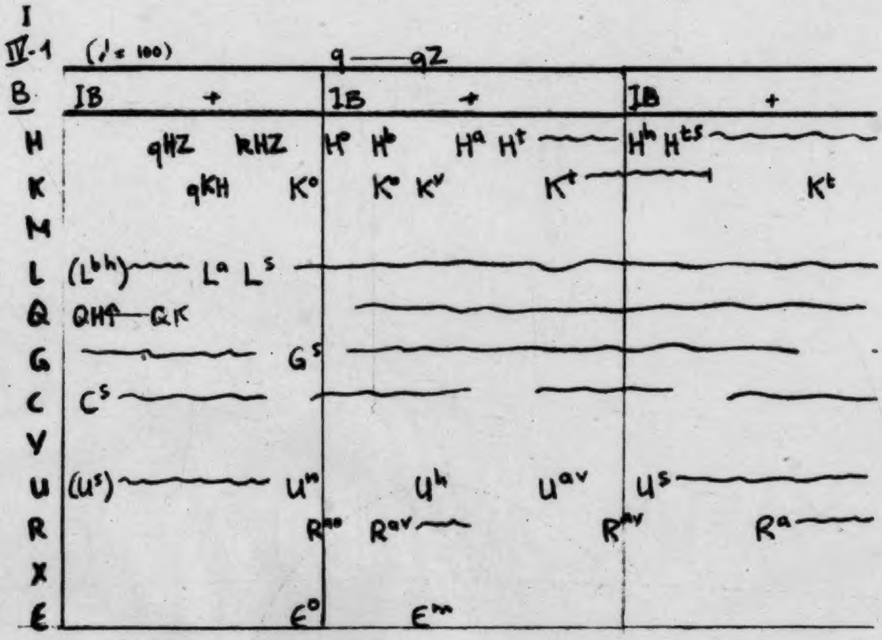
By the second verse there is the beginning of a response and K makes the poetic statement his own, expressing the emotion of sacrificing the self in love by means of the gesture of an offering to the one who to him represents the closest link with the Beloved, i.e. H. Meraj of course repeats the line (II, 2/GA) until the gesture is completed in its entirety.

.... 4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT, Verse III) ....


I-III
QZ
(♩=100)
B+A
1B
+
1B
+
1A
+
1A
+
H
K
L
Q
G
U
R
E
H^br
H^b
K^s
(L^s)
L^m
L^b
L^bs
L^bh
Q1
QZ
G^s
(U^o)
U^n
U^s
U^h
U^b
U^s
R^o
R^no
R^a
R^a
R^n
R^n
R^a
R^n
E^m
E

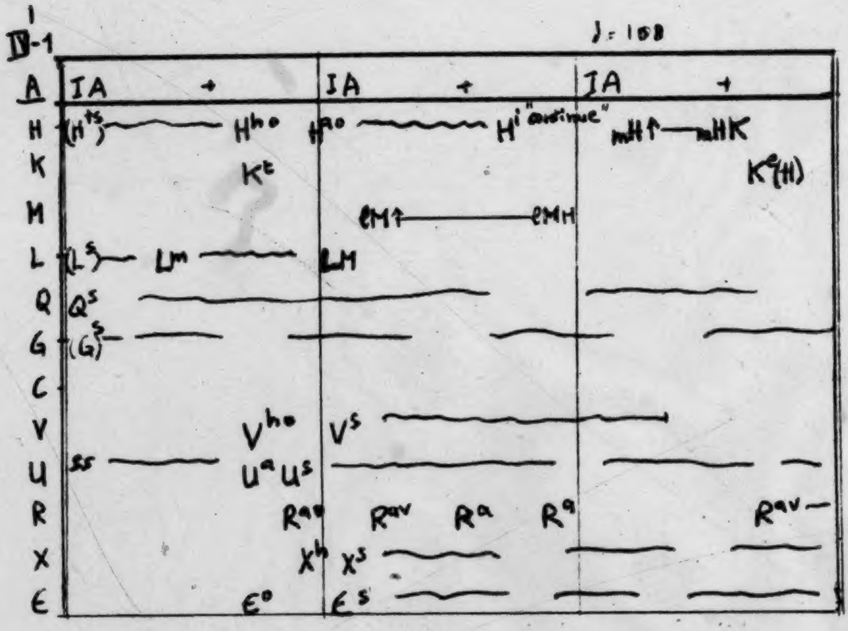
Meraj also gives the two subsequent lines a restatement, expecting K to respond further. But this does not happen, so that then he moves on to the culminating last couplet without waiting for the completion of Q's offering whose gesture he knows to be motivated by personal consideration for him rather than by the quest for a spiritual link.

....TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT Verse IV, Statement 1-Line 1/B)....


I
IV-1
B
(♩= 100)
q—qZ
IB +
IB +
IB +
H
K
M
L
Q
G
C
V
U
R
X
E
qHZ kHZ H° H^b H^a H^t H^h H^ts
qKH K° K° K^v K^t K^t
(L^bh) L^a L^s
QHf QK
G^s
C^s
(U^s) U^h U^h U^av U^s
R^ao R^av R^av R^a
E° E^m

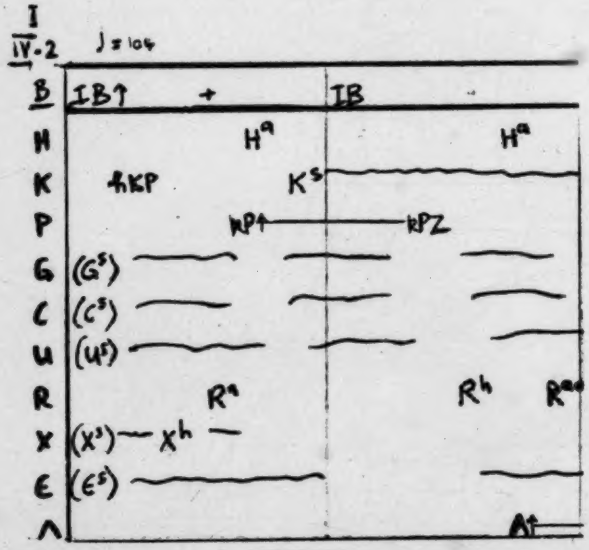
On the opening line of the last couplet Meraj sees both K and H react with fervour, as well as several others,...

....TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT, Verse IV, Statement 1-Line 2/A)....


IV-1
♩= 108
A
IA +
IA +
IA +
H
K
M
L
Q
G
C
V
U
R
X
E
(H^ts)
H^ho
H^ho
H^i "continue"
mH↑
mHK
K^t
K^e(H)
ℓM↑
ℓMH
(L^s)
L^m
LM
Q^s
(G)^s
V^ho
V^s
ss
U^a U^s
R^a
R^av
R^a
R^a
R^av
X^h
X^s
E^o
E^s

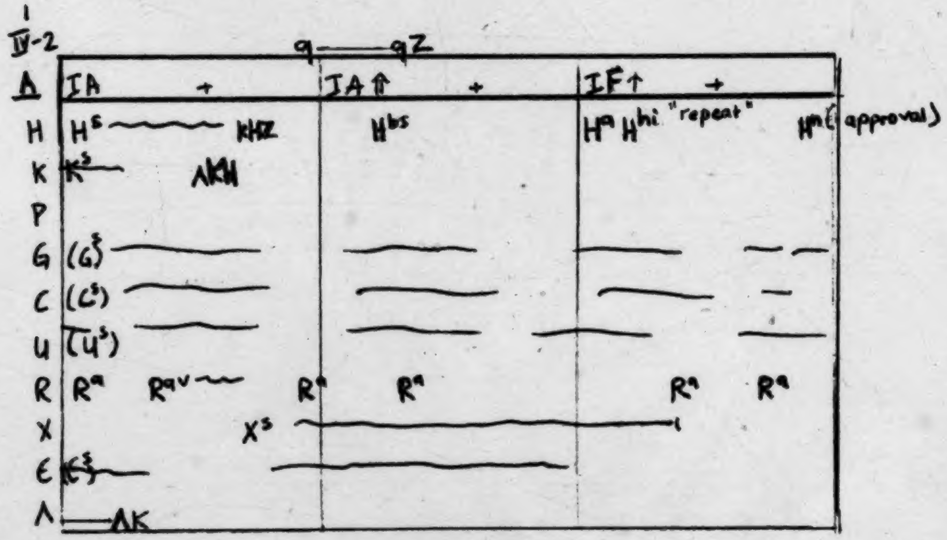
and on the second line H even gives Meraj a signal to continue on. Then he offers L's offering--which has reached him through K's brother M--to K, showing his utter devotion to the saint Nizamuddin Auliya (rather than passing it on to Z, as is standard procedure). K accepts in the name of his saint, but he does so while touching H's feet to express his own submission to his spiritual senior. Meraj of course decides to repeat the couplet.

....4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT Statement 2-Line 1/B)....


I
IV-2
♩= 104
B
IB↑
+
IB
H
K
P
G
C
U
R
X
E
Λ
H^a
H^a
^hKP
K^s
KP↑
KPZ
(G^s)
(C^s)
(U^s)
R^a
R^h
R^a
(X^s)
X^h
(E^s)
A↑

While mild responses continue another offering comes from a local devotee who has not responded so far and is not expected to become aroused.

.... 4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT, Verse IV, Statement 2-Line 2/A)....


IV-2
q——qZ
A
IA
+
IA⇑
+
IF↑
+
H
Hs
KHZ
Hbs
Ha Hhi "repeat"
Hn (approval)
K
Ks
ΛKH
P
G
(Gs)
C
(Cs)
U
(Us)
R
Ra
Rav
Ra
Ra
Ra
Ra
X
Xs
E
(Es)
Λ
ΛK

By the second line the various swaying responses subside, except for R's continued gestures and exclamations which Meraj by now disregards entirely as not showing any spiritual basis. He therefore decides to give the girah its final impact by leading it back into the first line of the song. This he does by re-stating the last line of the insert with a high starting pitch (GA above), in order to make its tune a descending one, as is appropriate for the leadback of an insert. However, something unexpected happens: H, as soon as he hears the high pitch, moves his head and finger disapprovingly (H^{hi} above). Meraj immediately--and correctly--interprets this as a signal not to conclude the insert but to go on repeating its last couplet which had moved H particularly.

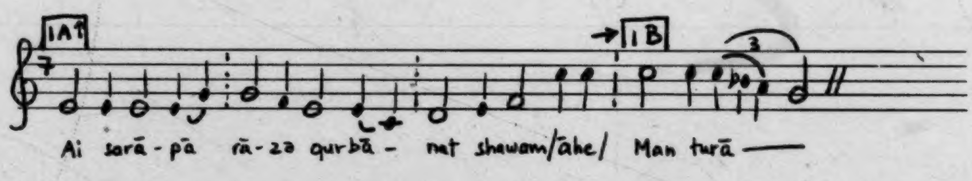
....4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT, attempted return to opening line)....

Verbally, returning to the beginning of the insert couplet is an easy task, but musically Meraj has already introduced the descending tune that indicates the completion of the girah. The only thing he can now do is to modify the tune, steering it away from the melodic leadback into the main song line, in order to avoid giving the audience a contrary structural signal. This he does as written out below (along with signal and response by H):

a) Standard concluding line (asthāyī) of Masnavī tune

with alternative ending marking return to beginning of couplet (antarā).

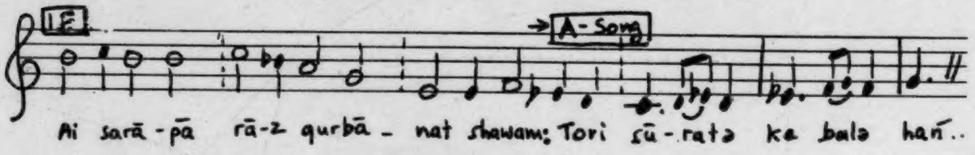
INSERT, Verse IV, Statement 1, Line 2



b) Substitute concluding line (antarā pitch and descending)

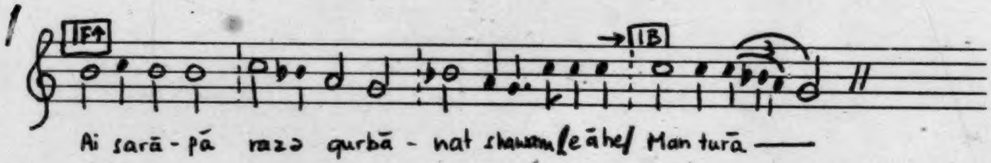
with melodic leadback into opening line (asthāyī) of main song.

INSERT, Verse IV, Statement 2 INTENDED Line 2


1E
→A-Song
Ai sarā-pā rā-z qurbā- nat shawam: Tori sū-rata ka bala han..

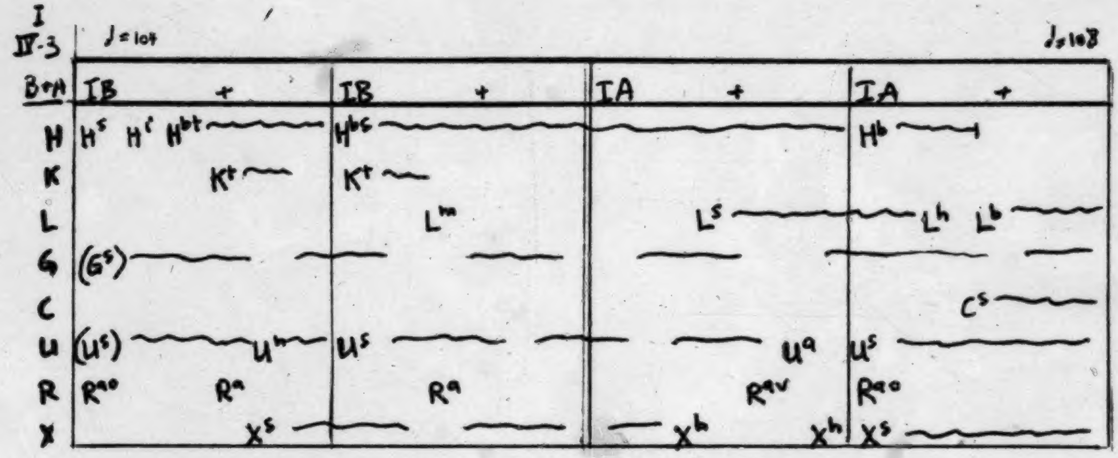
c) Modified substitute concluding line (descending movement reversed) with melodic anticipation of return to beginning of couplet (antarā)

INSERT, Verse IV, Statement 2, ACTUAL Line 2


1F↑
→1B
Ai sarā-pā raza qurbā-nat shawam/eāhe/ Man turā ——

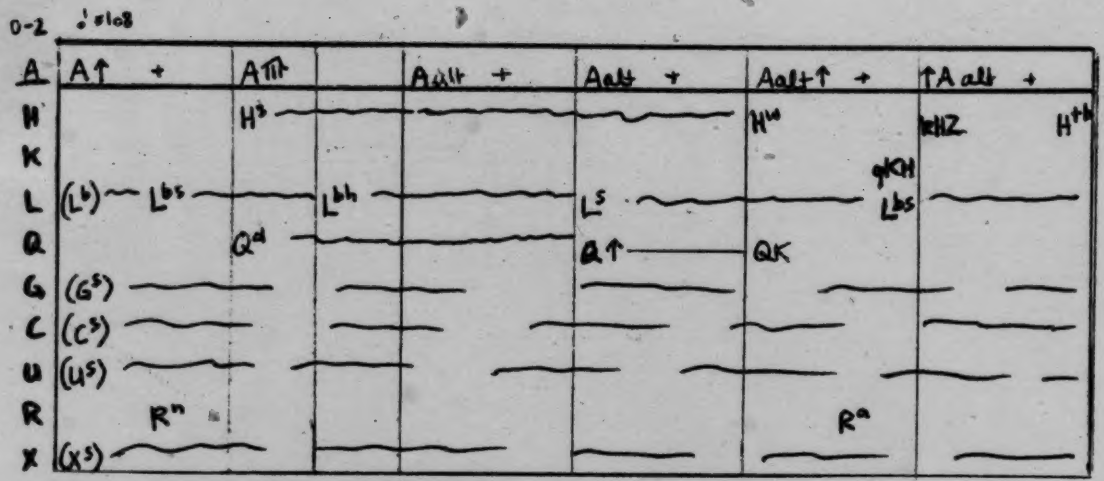
No sooner that he changes the direction of the tune upward, he sees H nod approvingly, having instantly understood Meraj's intended compliance with his wish.

....TORI SURAT (Opening Line: INSERT, return to Opening Line)....


I
IV-3
♩=104
♩=108
B+A
IB +
IB +
IA +
IA +
H
K
L
G
C
U
R
X
H^s H^c H^bt
H^bc
H^b
K^t
K^t
L^m
L^s
L^h L^b
(G^s)
C^s
(U^s)
U^h
U^s
U^a
U^s
R^ao
R^a
R^a
R^av
R^ao
X^s
X^h
X^h
X^s

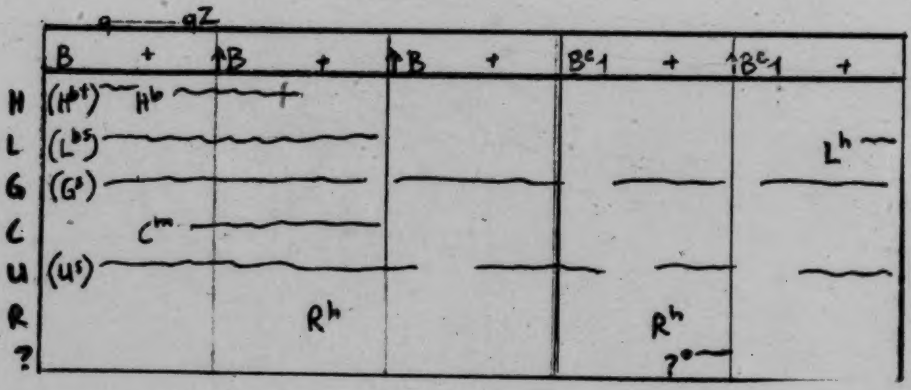
The fact that Meraj had to interupt the formal leadback once started means that a truly effective linkup between insert and main song has been thwarted. On the other hand, Meraj has helped sustain the arousal of one of the spiritual leaders of the assembly. H once again responds visibly to the first line of the restated couplet, and so does K; but Meraj does not see any potential for intensification, he therefore moves on to the final line and--this time without melodic leadback, so as not to invite another signal requesting a repeat--unceremoniously returns to the main song, thus avoiding to give any indication of his intent, since he does not wish to comply with another request for a repeat.

....4. TORI SURAT (Opening Line cont'd.)....


0-2
♩=108
A
H
K
L
Q
G
C
U
R
X
A↑ +
A↑↑↑
Aalt +
Aalt +
Aalt↑ +
↑A alt +
H^s
H^w
KHZ
H^th
(L^b)
L^bs
L^bh
L^s
qKH
L^bs
Q^d
Q↑
QK
(G^s)
(C^s)
(U^s)
R^n
R^a
(X^s)

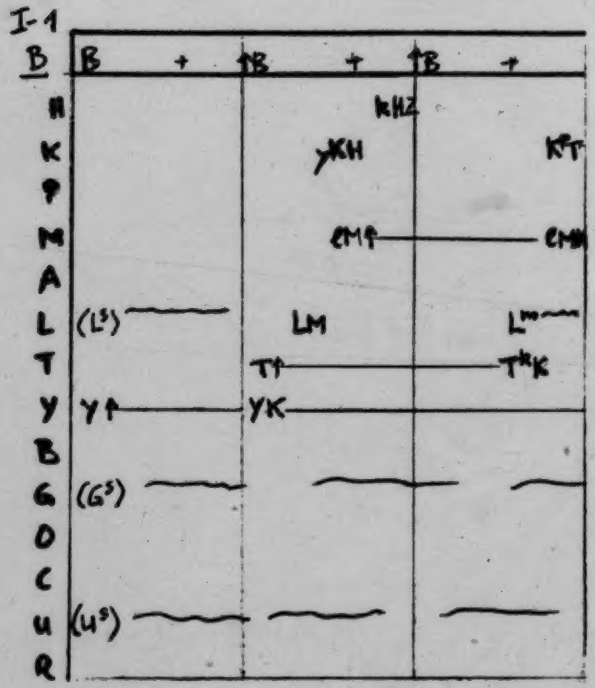
The unexpected repetition of its concluding verse has, however, reduced the impact of the insert on the opening line of the song. The response to its restatements is minimal, even though Meraj does his utmost to intensify them by using higher pitched melodic alternatives of the asthāyī. He decides therefore to continue into the body of the song where he can expect supplicatory stanzas to rekindle his audience's fervour. Also, time is running short.

....4. TORI SURAT (Verse I, Statement 1-Lines 1 & 2/B).....


q
qZ
B
+
↑B
+
↑B
+
Bc1
+
↑Bc1
+
H
L
G
C
U
R
?
(Hbt)
Hb
(Lbs)
(Gt)
Cm
(Ut)
Rh
Rh
?o
Lh

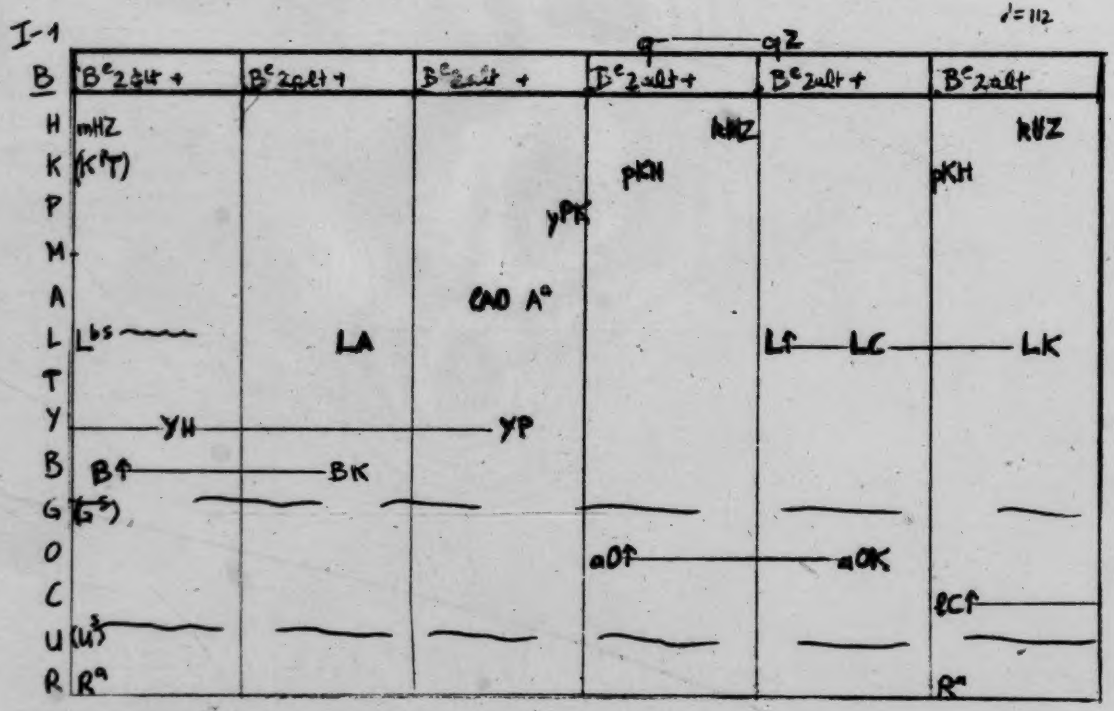
Initially, the first verse appears almost as an anticlimax.

....4. TORI SURAT (Verse I, Statement 1-Line 3/B)....


I-1
B
B + ↑B + ↑B +
H
K
M
A
L
T
Y
B
G
O
C
U
R
kHZ
YKH
KT
CM↑
CM
(L^s)
LM
L^m
T↑
T^k K
Y↑
YK
(G^s)
(U^s)

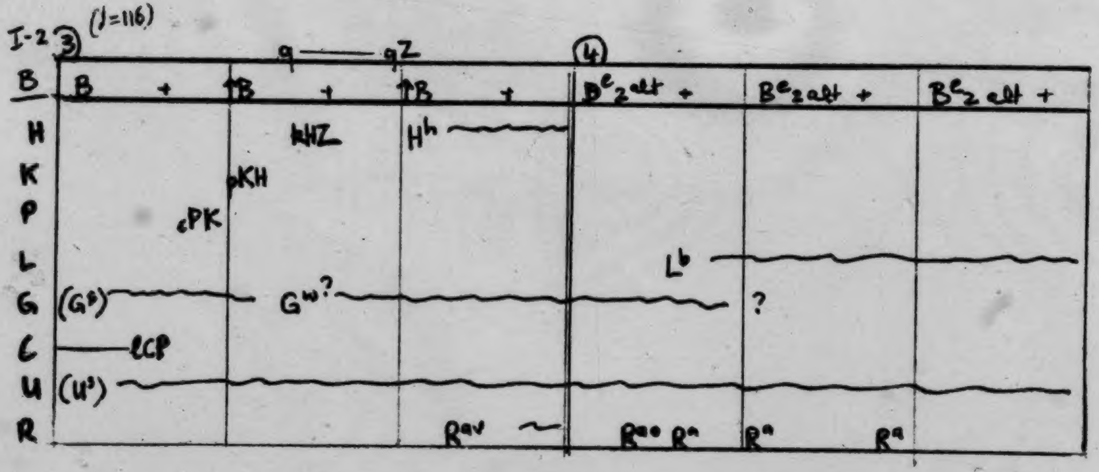
It takes until the third line of this stanza to generate responses. Since it symbolically expresses the quest for being filled and purified with the mystical love of the saint (by means of the saint's "colour", see translation p. 333), link responses are appropriate.

.... 4. TORI SURAT (Verse I, Statement 1-Line 4/)....


I-1
♩=112
q
qZ
B
H
K
P
M
A
L
T
Y
B
G
O
C
U
R
Bᶜ2alt+
Bᶜ2alt+
Bᶜ2alt+
Bᶜ2alt+
Bᶜ2alt+
Bᶜ2alt
mHZ
(KᵗT)
Lᵇˢ
(Gˢ)
(Uˢ)
Rᵃ
LA
BK
YH
Bf
yPK
CAO Aᵃ
YP
pKH
kHZ
Lf
LC
LK
aDf
aOK
pKH
kHZ
ℓCf
Rᵃ

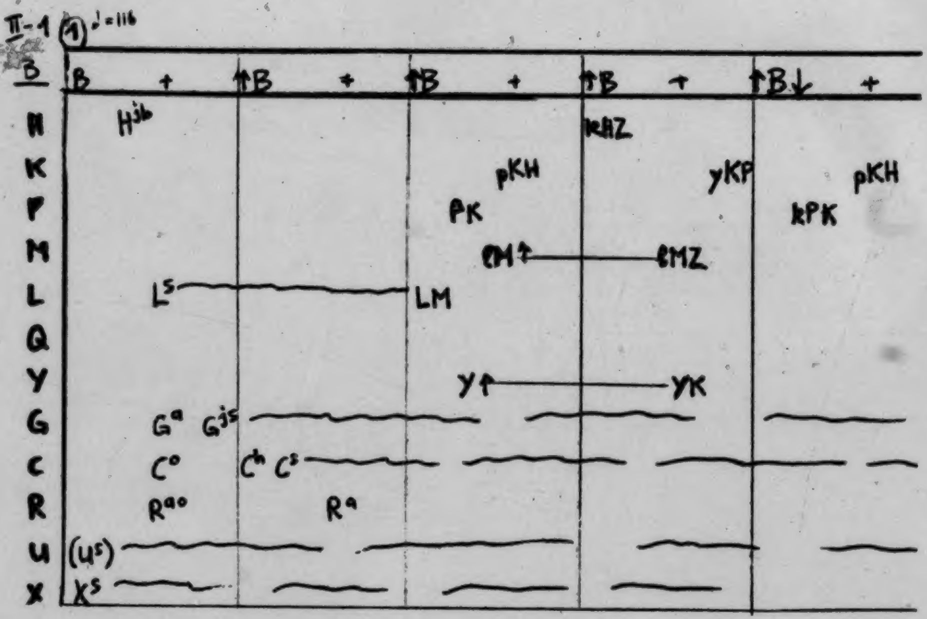
The link responses continue, predictably, into the supplicatory closing line, so that Meraj decides to repeat both lines without returning back to the first half of the verse (lines 1 and 2 above).

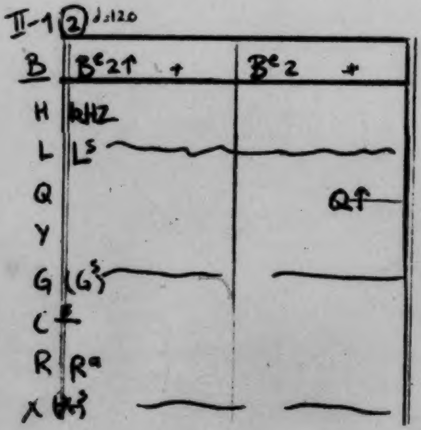
....4. TORI SURAT (Verse 1, Statement 2-Lines 3 & 4/B & D)....


I-2
3
(♩=116)
q — qZ
4
B
B +
↑B +
↑B +
Be2 alt +
Be2 alt +
Be2 alt +
H
K
P
L
G
C
U
R
kHZ
Hh
pKH
cPK
Lb
(Gs)
Gw?
?
ℓCP
(Us)
Rav
Rao Ra
Ra
Ra

The effect of this repeat is minimal, hence Meraj moves on to the next stanza which is certain to yield offerings, since it constitutes an appeal to the saint in the very name of his own spiritual guide, Baba Farid.

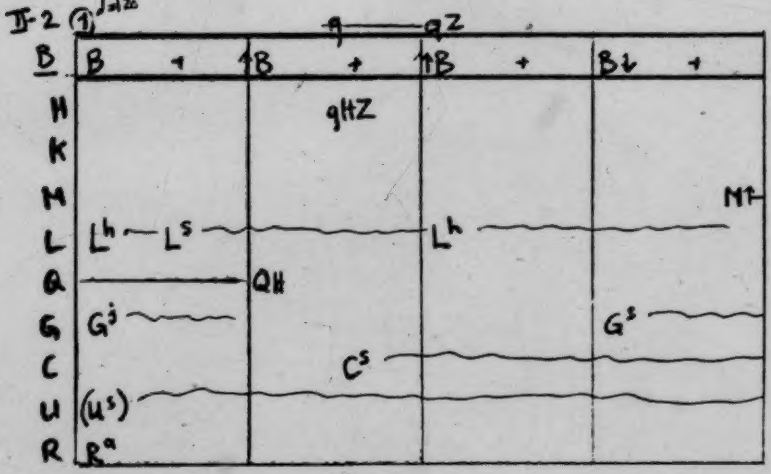
....4. TORI SURAT (Verse II, Statement 1-Lines 1 & 2)....

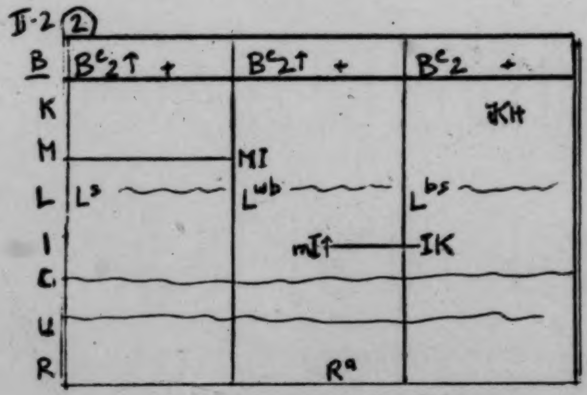

II-1 ①
B
H
K
P
M
L
Q
Y
G
C
R
U
X
B + ↑B + ↑B + ↑B + ↑B↓ +
RHZ
pKH
yKP
pKH
PK
kPK
LM
YK
Ga
Ca
Rao
Ra
(Us)
Xs


II-1 ②
B
H
L
Q
Y
G
C
R
X
Be2↑ +
Be2 +
RHZ
Ls
Ra

Meraj dwells on the line containing the saintly name and on completing the couplet decides to repeat, to allow for its full impact.

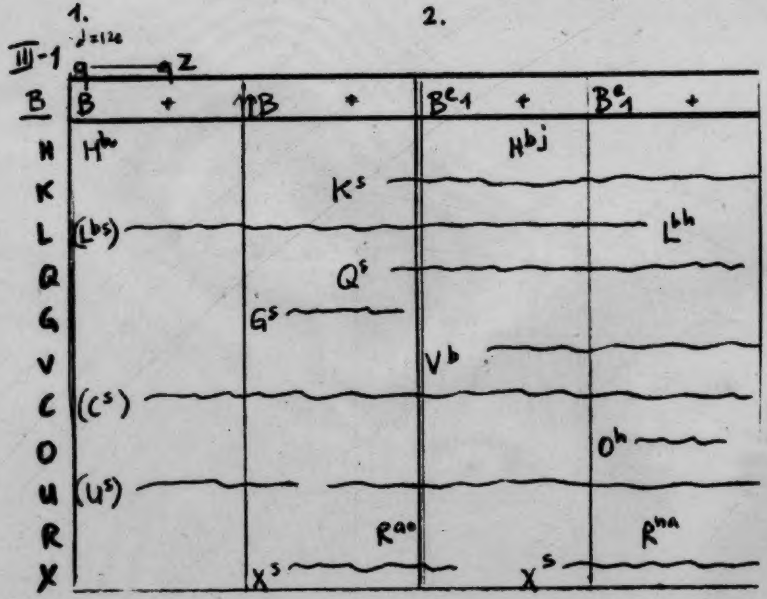
....4. TORI SURAT (Verse II, Statement 2-Lines 1 & 2/B)....

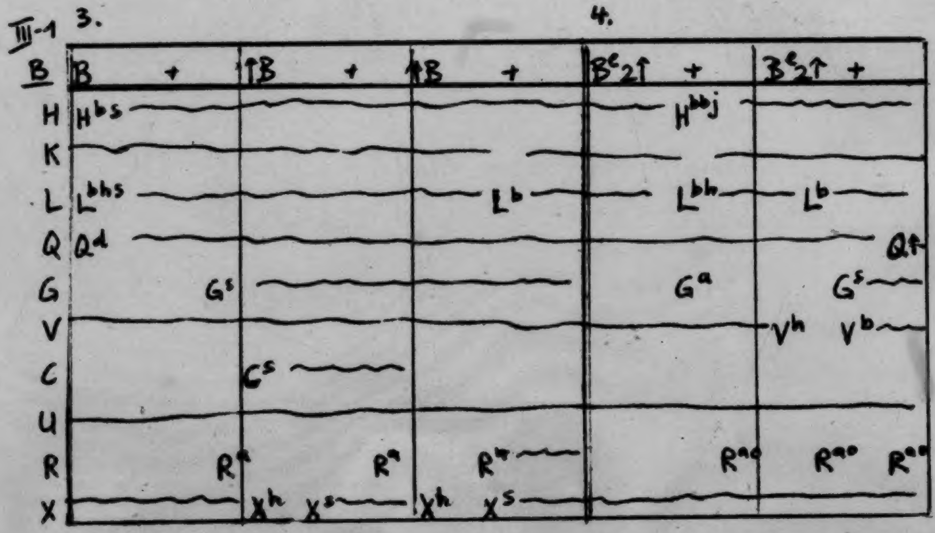

II-2 ①
q — qZ
B
B
↑B
↑B
B↓
H
K
M
L
Q
G
C
U
R
qHZ
MI
L^h — L^s
L^h
QH
G^j
G^s
C^s
(U^s)
R^a


II-2 ②
B
B^c2↑
B^c2↑
B^c2
K
M
L
I
C
U
R
KH
MI
L^s
L^wb
L^bs
mI↑ — IK
R^a

During the second statement he observes how M, the leader's younger brother, makes an offering to the Pakistani Sufi who has so far failed to respond, either expressively or with an offering showing his deference to the saint at whose darbār (royal court) he is a visitor. By thus initiating L's participation in the hierarchical presentation of respect, M finally causes L to rise and to present the offering he received to K, the leader.

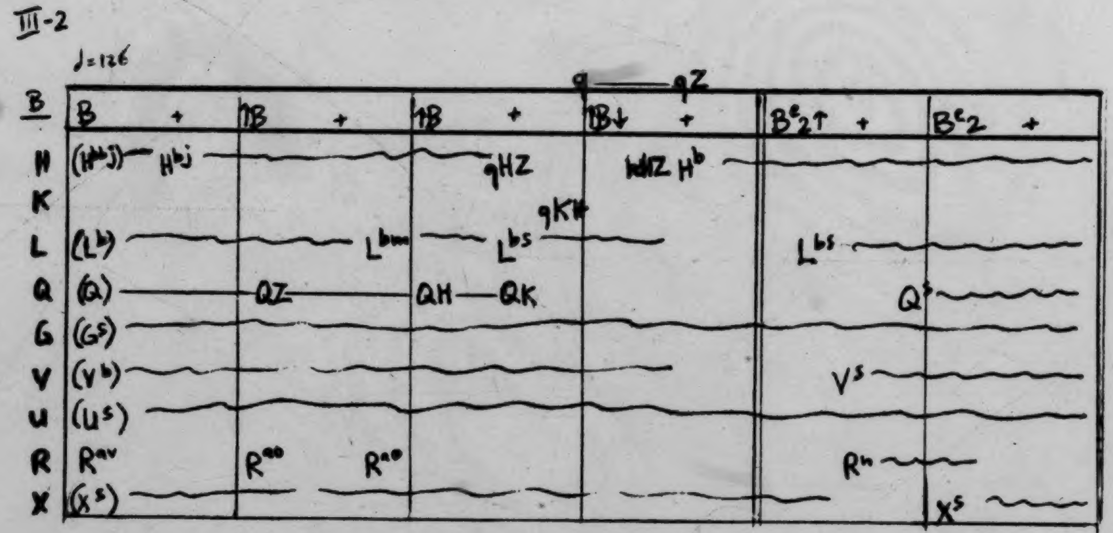
....4. TORI SURAT (Verse III, Statement 1-Lines 1 - 4)....


1.
2.
III-1
B
H
K
L
Q
G
V
C
O
U
R
X
B
+
↑B
+
Be1
+
Be1
+
Hbj
Ks
(Lbs)
Lbh
Qs
Gs
Vb
(Cs)
Oh
(Us)
Rao
Rha
Xs
Xs


III-1
3.
4.
B
H
K
L
Q
G
V
C
U
R
X
B
+
↑B
+
↑B
+
Be2↑
+
Be2↑
+
Hbs
Hbbj
Lbhs
Lb
Lbh
Lb
Qd
Q↑
Gs
Ga
Gs
Vh
Vb
Cs
Ra
Ra
Rw
Rao
Rao
Rao
Xh
Xs
Xh
Xs

The third stanza, of four lines again, is one not familiar to most performers and Sufis today, and Meraj takes pride in inserting it into his performance of this song, showing his special knowledge.

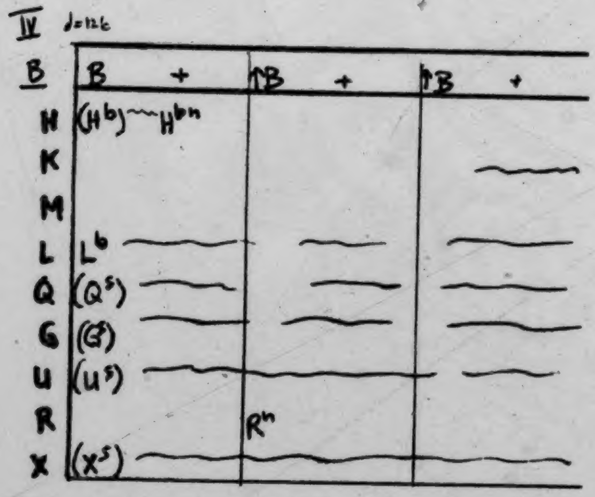
....4. TORI SURAT (Verse III, Statement 2-Lines 3 & 4/B).....


III-2
♩=126
B
H
K
L
Q
G
V
U
R
X
B +
B +
B +
B↓ +
Be2↑ +
Be2 +
q — qZ
(Hbj) Hbj
qHZ
HZ Hb
qKH
(Lb)
Lbw
Lbs
Lbs
(Q)
QZ
QH — QK
Qs
(Gs)
(Vb)
Vs
(Us)
Rav
Rao
Rao
Rh
(Xs)
Xs

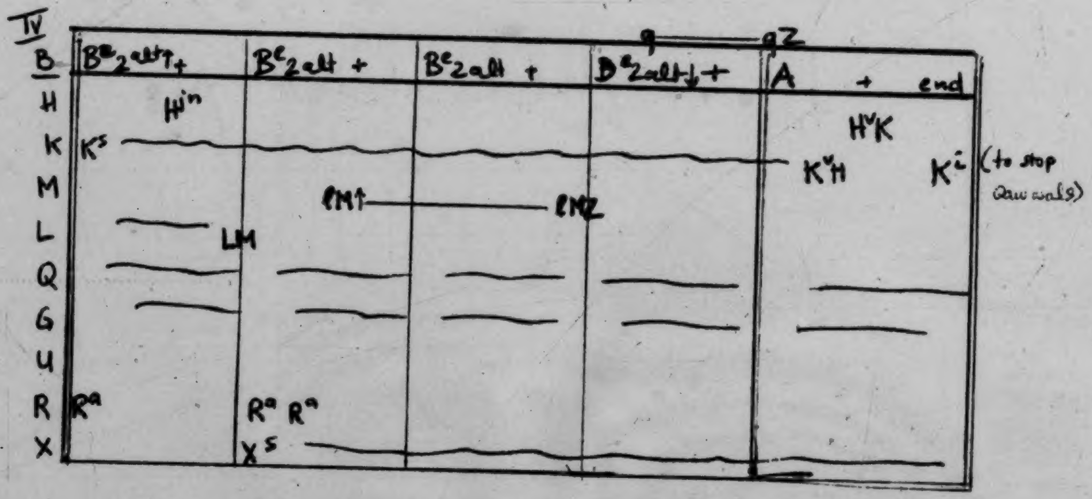
But at this point not enough time is left for his listeners to be deeply affected by a new dimension in the song, although H does bow deeply and join his palms on the supplicatory last line. Just as Meraj has already introduced the final descent of the tune, Q gets up to offer, so that Meraj decides to repeat the last two lines which contain another supplication. After waiting for the offerings to reach their destination and allowing the mild arousal of several Sufis to abate, Meraj concludes the verse.

....4. TORI SURAT (Verse IV, Lines 1 & 2/B)....

1.


IV
♩=126
B
B +
↑B +
↑B +
H
K
M
L
Q
G
U
R
X
(H^b)~~H^bn
L^b
(Q^s)
(G^s)
(U^s)
R^n
(X^s)

2.


IV
B
B^e 2 alt↑ +
B^e 2 alt +
B^e 2 alt +
B^e 2 alt↓ +
A + end
g——gZ
H
K
M
L
Q
G
U
R
X
H^in
K^s
H^vK
K^vH
K^i (to stop Qawwals)
LM
R^a
R^a R^a
X^s

The final couplet again contains saintly names; those of Nizamuddin's spiritual preceptors. But it is the name of Khusrau, the disciple par excellence, that evokes another offering response from the devoted disciple L.

....4. TORI SURAT (Conclusion)....

Meraj extends repetitions of the line until the offering is complete. Then, anticipating the leader's command from his countenance, he replaces the repeat alternative ending of the last tune section which he has been using to introduce its repeat statements. Using the regular ending, he leads back to a final statement of the opening line (A). Just then K exchanges a remark with H which M knows to be a signal to end the performance. He therefore brings the ending of the opening tune down to the tonic which his brother Iqbal, not needing any separate prompting, instantly contributes a threefold closing cadence (tīyā) on the ḍholak.

PERFORMANCE 2: ECSTATIC AROUSAL

This example complements the first one by presenting an excerpt--one song--from the other type of intimate assembly of "special" listeners, a gathering of disciples all focussed on one spiritual leader and thus linked by a bond of mystical "brotherhood"--they are all pīrbhāyī, brothers through their pīr.

This assembly constitutes a group of Sufis all related by two generations of discipleship to the "Kanpur silsila" of the late Babu Haya of Delhi who was himself a follower of Nizamuddin Auliya. Every year these disciples travel to Delhi from Kanpur and other parts of India to attend the 'urs of Nizamuddin Auliya, joing in brotherly commemoration of their own sheikh in an assembly they hold late at night on the 19th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, the third day of the 'urs celebrations. The place is auspicious; a hujrā within the shrine belonging to the third leading representative at Nizamuddin Auliya who, however, is not present there.

The mīr-e-mahfil or leader of their assembly is Khalil Mian who is the spiritually senior among them and himself has the authority to act as a spiritual guide (khilāfat). The other members of the group are of varying ages and material standard. Outstanding among them are two more disciples with spiritual leadership authority; they are also among the few who are able to make generous offerings. The only senior person from the Nizamuddin Auliya shrine community is Miskin Shah who, in the absence of a descendant, takes on their role in an unofficial way.

Because of its location at the shrine, the Qawwāl Bachche have a first right to perform at this assembly. It is Meraj among them who, by customary right, functions as the principal performer, although the assembly leader also gives occasional "turns" to visiting performers. Meraj values this group of listeners for their serious commitment to the mystical path and their respect for his own special competence of classical Qawwali singing.

During this assembly, intense emotional arousal comes about repeatedly because of the strong and mutually reinforcing spiritual bond among the participants. The excerpt presented here serves to show the entire course of an ecstatic state during a performance, set within the context of the larger performance sequence. In addition, it exemplifies the following specific features of interaction, most of them connected with the management of the ecstatic state:

general features	- song choice considering setting and situational factors
	- focus change between single and plural
	- special listener's suggestion for insert
musical strategies	- application of all types of repetition
	- replacement of takrār by girah
	- alternate tunes used for emphasis and ease of repetition
	- introducing Song with Prelude and Introductory Verse

a) Setting

The assembly begins at midnight, after devotees and performer have taken part in a large public assembly in the Urs Mahal hall. By the time

Meraj arrives, however, a Qawwal visiting from Rampur is already singing an extended turn of three songs. During the second song, Meraj appears at the open door of the hujrā; then he signifies his presence, making an offering to the leader and withdrawing until he is called upon to perform. Meanwhile he has time to assess the elements in the setting which he considers relevant to his choice of a first song. The two songs he hears his predecessor sing are both devotional in theme; the first one is a traditional Hindi song praising the saint Nizamuddin Auliya and expressing the love and longing that activate the mystical bond. This song evoked fervent, even ecstatic responses from the audience. The song following it picked up the theme of mystical love in general, in the form of a contemporary Sufi song poem in Urdu. The response was general enthusiasm and a number of offerings.

It is obvious to Meraj that the same thematic orientation of devotional mysticism should be continued. And he considers that addressing the saint, whose closeness all have come to experience, would also be appropriate. For this purpose the more familiar Hindi or Urdu would be more suitable than Persian; between the two Meraj gives preference to Hindi, because its association with classical mysticism is certain to appeal to this initiated audience.

Before making a final decision Meraj must take into account yet another factor in the situation, the composition of the audience at the time of his singing. The familiar group is assembled, but he notes that one of the more affluent members is absent from the assembly. And from those who remain there seems no definite directive as to the choice of a particular song. However, in the doorway he has already noted the author operating her recording equipment with her husband, an important personal patron at the present time. This reminds Meraj of an old song, kachh jagmag jagmag howat hai (see ex. 5 and Transcription 2), which is appropriate to this occasion and had been brought to his attention earlier by the author's husband on behalf of a Sufi friend in Pakistan who had asked for a performance of this song. Meraj recognizes an opportunity to respond to this request and thus begins his turn as soon as the leader calls him in.

b) Prelude and Introductory Verse (cf. ex. 8 and 9)

For this first song Meraj is accompanied only by his brother Iqbal who complements his singing and also provides the dholak accompaniment. Later, they will be joined by two junior partners. Having taken his place, Meraj perceives a momentary pause of relaxation, following the very intense song just concluded. To allow for a breathing space and to attract the attention of the audience to himself, he decides to begin his performance with a prelude on the harmonium; it is the modernized version of the naghma-e-Quddusi (see ex. 8). As Meraj begins to play, he observes Khalil Miyan, the leader, still exchanging expressions of delight with other disciples over the previous song. But gradually the zikr rhythm of the prelude begins to make its impact upon the listeners. While the high-pitched phrases of the prelude are repeated with continuing acceleration, two younger devotees start clapping to the beat; some others sway.

These reactions tell Meraj that his listeners are now ready for the message of his song. Immediately he brings the naghma to a conclusion on the lower tonic and the drumming ceases. As one listener exclaims "subhānallāh" (praise be to God), Meraj begins to sing. On the spur of the moment he has decided to preface the song with one of his favourite introductory verses in Farsi, Shud dilam (see ex. 9). Appropriate to the chosen song's focus on love, this ruba'i, he feels, is sure to appeal to his sophisticated audience and and will set the right tone for the song. He begins by intoning a brief wordless melodic formula connecting the conclusion of the naghmā to the initial pitch of the ruba'i, the fifth. Accompanying himself on the harmonium he declaims the first line of the verse and then, with a slight nod, signals his partner Iqbal to repeat it. This he does, moving on to sing the second line and concluding the first couplet by a descending melodic movement. Now Meraj again takes over, moving back to the fifth for the third line and then, without waiting for a repeat by his brother, he starts the last line directly on a higher pitch (the Fth) in order to make the final descent into the first line of the song (cf. ex. 9, minimal version p. 301). His brother now immediately joins in, the ḍholak providing the appropriate rhythmic framework of an 8/8/ musical meter, and the song has started.

c) The Song: Synopsis (cf. ex. 4 and Transcription 2)

Verse I. The opening verse evokes immediate enthusiasm, especially from the older listeners who cherish this old song. Incipient arousal is manifest on both verse lines and one elderly disciple is particularly touched by this song. Few offerings are made, however.

Verse II. A heightened state of arousal among the devotees as a whole culminates in an ecstatic state experienced by the elderly disciple. During the four extended statements of this verse Meraj sees the disciple move through gradually intensifying arousal to the total abandonment of ecstasy, expressed through ecstatic dancing, and brought to a conclusion through an offering and then an intense embrace of the assembly.

During the first presentation of this verse the elderly disciple is already showing signs of more intense arousal which increase as Meraj starts the verse a second time. However, rather than catering to the disciple by continuing to repeat the salient second verse line, Meraj, due to his concern for other, more prominent members of his audience (including the foreign patron), decides instead to enhance this verse line by inserting a Farsi verse as a girah. But he is immediately stopped by Miskin Shah, the senior Sufi of the shrine, and made to return to repeating the verse line so that the disciple's arousal is further intensified, until he is dancing ecstatically (raqs) while the other listeners stand in reverence.

Statement 1 and 2 of this verse are transcribed in Transcription 2.

Meraj now complies with the requirements of this state of ecstasy (kaifiyat) by providing takrār repetitions of the same line and closely monitoring the needs of the ecstatic person. In response to a signal from him, Meraj returns to the beginning of the verse a third time. Well into the second line the ecstatic disciple's raqs culminates in an embrace of Khalil Miyan, the leader. This suggests to Meraj that he should make a final statement of the entire verse, this time with a new antarā tune lower in pitch to give the strained voices of only two persons a rest. But even while locked in embrace, the ecstatic Sufi continues his dancing movements, so that the performer is required to continue his takrār of the second line until the state finally subsides. At this Khalil Miyan sits down and the rest follow his example, whereupon Meraj immediately terminates the verse to go on to the next one.

Verse III. As Meraj begins the third and last verse of the song, Miskin Shah--in the absence of any recognized descendants representing the local saint--seizes the rare opportunity to assert his control over the Qawwals. His command to insert a single verse line, inspired by the meaning of the previous verse, complicates but also enhances the song presentation. The line, originating in Hindu devotional poetry, fits the song in both meaning and form: (cf. ex. 5, text and translation).

Text

جو سُوَت ہے وہ کھُوَت ہے، جو جاگَت ہے وہ پاوَت ہے

Jo sowat hai woh khowat hai, jo jāgat hai woh pāwat hai

Translation

He who is asleep, loses; but he who is awake, finds.

Given the thematically and structurally conclusive character of this single line, Meraj decides to integrate it into the song by treating it musically as a concluding line set to the asthāyī tune of the song. The response from the devotee is mild, so that Meraj soon reverts to the beginning of the verse. Indeed, as a sophisticated Qawwal extremely well-versed in the classical Qawwali repertoire he appreciates appropriate inserts but is critical of interruptions with incomplete or inappropriate materials and sometimes resents having to comply where he considers the initiator's status insufficient and where no financially beneficial response is forthcoming.

The correct second line of the verse brings another wave of enthusiasm, especially, once again from the elderly disciple, so that Meraj decides to sing the complete verse once more. But the elderly disciple is now the only one who expresses excitement. Expecting nothing more in emotional response or in offerings, Meraj decides to end the song with a last statment, in slower tempo, of the extra line inserted earlier by the local Sufi. Educated, as he is, in the Sufi tradition, Meraj realizes that in this concluding position the inserted line sums up appropriately the message of the whole song.

d) Performance Interaction Sequence

In order to illustrate now how the salient interaction sequence during this song comes about step by step, a transcription in chart form follows for verses II and III, modelled on the schematic presentation of a performance interaction shown on Table 26: 235, and discussed on p. 305.

Verse II

VERSE II (cf. Transcription 2)		PERFORMER	INTERACTION:	AUDIENCE
Statement 1				
Line 1/B:				
(2x)	B1	Introduces line half by half,	→	Elderly disciple (D) responds by moving forward, kneeling
(3x)	B2	then moves on to A	→ ↙	Attention aroused for conclusion of verse
Line 2/A: 1.				
(2x)	A1	Expects line to have impact,		
(3x)	A2	especially A2 ("God is awake...")	→ ↘	General approval sounded D turns toward assembly leader (L), raises arm and shouts
2.				
(5x)	A1	Restates line, expanding each half	→	D exlaims, turning to performers Local Sufi (S) receives offering, presents to to another senior disciple who offers it to L.
(2x)	A2	Keeps line going during offering sequence. While receiving offering with humility, his brother takes opportunity to lead, initiating another statement of verse before offering sequence complete.	← ← ↙	L offers same nazrānā formally to S who rises in respect, so that both pass it to performer.

VERSE II	PERFORMER	INTERACTION:	AUDIENCE
Statement 2			
Line 1/B:			
1.			
(1x) B1alt	Brother sings higher-pitched antarā (see p. 345) showing quality of his voice		
(2x) B2		→	D, still kneeling, grasps his chest with emotion.
2.			
(1x) B1	Single statement of complete line 1(B), serves to re-introduce line 2 (A)		
(1x) B2		→ ↙	Listeners expectant
Line 2/A:			
1.			
(2x) A1	Settles into A1	→ ↙	General response, heads shaking, arms raised
(3x) A2	Drummer accentuates arrival of A2	→ ↙	D more intensely aroused, turning on knees and bowing in reverence

VERSE II	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 2			
2.			
(3x) *A1*	Expects to expand this line to allow full meaning to sink in	→	D moves with increasing intensity
(1/2x) *A2*	Interrupts *A2* to insert Farsi verse as *girah*, to amplify meaning of line and impress sophisticated listeners	→	D becomes still instantly
Insert:			
(1/2x) Line 1	Begins *girah* in solo presentation	→ ↙	S immediately signals performers to stop insert and continue repeating *A2*, giving priority to D's aroused state
(3x) *A2*	Instantly obeys S and returns to repeating *A2*	→	D instantly turns round to performers and breaks into loud weeping
3.			
(3x) *A1*	Returns to beginning of line to keep its message intact	→ ↙	D, shaking head, searches pocket, stands up with a shout and makes offering to L, bowing low
(3x) *A2*	Waits for offering to reach him, repeating *A2*	→	L passes offering to S who hands it on to performers D, meanwhile, stands up, raises arm and shouts several times while starting to turn on the spot, having reached ecstasy L and S rise in recognition of D's state
	Completes *A2* as soon as everyone is standing	← ↙	Everyone follows L's lead and stands up

VERSE II	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 2			
Line 2/*A*:			
4.			
(3x) *A1*	Fulfils duty to accompany ecstatic state for its duration by repeating *A*, amplified by *B* intermittently	→	D continues turnning with small steps, arms extended upwards in classic posture of *raqs*, shouting repeatedly Entire audience focussing on D S urges on performers by handclaps
(3x) *A2*	Intensifies arrival on salient *A2* by drum accents	→ ← ↙	General response to *A2*, exlamations S motions to performers with rhythmic arm movements D, now one arm raised, continues *raqs*
5.			
(4x) *A1*	Returns to reiterate entire line	→ ↘	Several approving exclamations but no offerings D's turning slows down, bows head S tries to shelter D while in uncontrolled state
(1 1/2x) *A2*	Plans extended run of *A2*	↘ ↙	Approving exclamations continue D shouts out to performers between intermittent movements
	Interrupts instantly to comply with D's need, interpreting his shout as request for entire verse repeat		

VERSE II	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 3			
Line 1/B:			
1.			
(2x) B1	Goes back to beginning of verse, but only briefly, to return soon to A	→	D responds with renewed fervor shaking his head and raising his arm
(3x) B2		→	D begins to turn again
		↙	Remaining audience quiet
Statement 3			
Line 2/A:			
1.			
(3x) A1	Gives each half line three statements	↙	D turns slowly, arm raised high
		↙	General response to A, individual devotees sway, smile, call out
		↙	S urges on performers
(3x) A2	Observing D and general reaction he decides to repeat line		General focus still on D, someone steadies him
2.			
(3x) A1		→	D now alternately stops and raises arm, then turns toward L searchingly who receives him in his arms
		↙	L holds the swaying D securely and nods to the performers to continue takrār repetitions
(1x) A2	Noting the signal from L. during first statement of A2 he decides to repeat the entire verse		

VERSE II	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 4			
Line 1/B:			
1.			
(2x) Balt1	Introduces lower-pitched antarā tune (see p. 345) composed on the spot, to lessen strain on voice, in anticipation of more lengthy repetitions.	→	L nods, encouraging performers on, still holding D securely
(1x) Balt2	Interprets S's signal as request for A2, so he cuts short B2 and immediately continues on to line A	← ↙	S loudly reciterates the phrase "jāgat hai" from A2 which reminds him of extra line (see verse III, 1, A)
Statement 4			
Line 2/A:			
1.			
(1x) A1	Sings A1 only once since A2 contains S's request phrase	→	D starts stamping feet slowly, still locked in embrace
(2x) A2	Expects to sing A2 over and over	→	S, hearing "jagat hai" again, shows his enthusiasm by rhythmical hand motions D stamps and bounces rhythmically L shares in D's arousal, raising arm, but verbally indicating A1
	Picks up signal from L for reiteration of A1, hence	↙	
2.			
(1x) A1	Restates the entire line 2 once, responding to the		
(1x) A2	needs of both L and S, then:		

VERSE II	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 4			
Line 2/A:			
3.			
(4x) A1	For L, he sings A1 4 times, then goes on to sing A2 for S	→	L raises arm, expresses approval, delight, then pats D
		←	D is still bouncing, arm raised
		←	S addresses performers again with his phrase "jāgat hai", suggesting extra line (see verse III, 1, A)
(3x) A2	Instead of responding to S's request for something new, he completes A, in support of D's renewed arousal	→ ←	D shouts, turns to performers and points to them, acknowledging the source of his delight
			L holds D fast
4.			
(2x) A1	Given D's state provides him with repeated A, but without wishing to prolong verse	→	D cries out once more at beginning of A1, then just sways, his ecstasy abating
(2x) A2		←	D is swaying gently as he becomes calm
		←	L now guides D to his sitting place
	Observes L move toward concluding the ecstatic episode, hence		
5.			
(2x) A1	Restates A1 just enough times times to finish the verse		D sits down limply L sits down and
(1x) A2	with a single A2 while all sit down	←	All the other devotees follow suit

Verse III

VERSE III	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 1 (incomplete)			
Line 1/B:			
1.			
(2x) B1	Immediately proceeds to state B, by halves		Audience still settling down
(1/2x) B2	Begins B2	←↙	S interrupts, loudly shouting out the verse line he has been trying to introduce
Line IA			
(insert line set to IA)			
1.			
(1x) IA1	Interrupts B2 immediately, to comply now with S's command, deciding to set extra line to asthāyī tune	→	S raises arm in rhythm, becoming visibly aroused
(2x) IA2		↙	No particular response from others
2.			
(1x) IA1	In the absence of a general response he restates the entire insert, to let it make its full impact	→	S nods repeatedly in delight
(2x) IA2			Several devotees respond with raised arm
	Expects nothing more, since not even S has made an offering in appreciation of his insert, hence	←↙	No offering indicated

VERSE III	PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 1			
Line IA			
3.			
(1x) IA1 (1x) IA2	Makes final complete statement of extra line, then goes back to begin verse III over	→	D, after sitting still with bowed head, now shakes head in response
Statement 2			
Line 1/B:			
1.			
(2x) B1	Reiterates first line as originally intended,	→ ↘	D, mildly aroused again, nods and raises arm S does likewise
(3x) B2	Giving second half proper exposure Could respond to call by repeating B2, but decides to go on instead	↙	D and another disciple enthusicastically call out the concluding phrase ab karle--"do it now."
Line 2/A:			
1.			
(2x) A1	Concluding statement of verse is finally stated	→ ↘	D raises arm, speaking and shouting Others listen expectantly
(3x) B2		→ ↘ ↙	General response, expressing delight in gestures and shouts, but no offerings
		↙	D more intensely aroused, shakes head, calls out loudly, raises arm

VERSE III		PERFORMER	INTERACTION	AUDIENCE
Statement 2				
Line a/A:				
2.				
(3x)	A1	Repeats entire line as indicated by response, but has little hope of monetary reward	→ ↙	General response less fervent this time One disciple makes a praying gesture
(2x)	A2			D too responds less fervently
Statement 3				
Line 1/B:				
(1x)	B1	Gives verse last try, for effect, dwelling on second half	→	
(3x)	B2	Since nothing is forthcoming, he moves on	↙	No response, only S nods in approval
Statement 3				
Line 2/A:				
1.				
(3x)	A1	Sings his last presentation of A,	→	D once again responds to this line, nodding
(4x)	A2		→ ↙	D raises arm, shouts enthusiastic comment on this last statement
		Extends last part of message, allowing D to express his reaction, also allowing last chance for offering	→ ↙	Among the rest, hardly a responding gesture
		Concludes that song has made its impact and will yield no further spiritual or financial benefit.		

VERSE III PERFORMER INTERACTION AUDIENCE

Statement 3

Line IA:

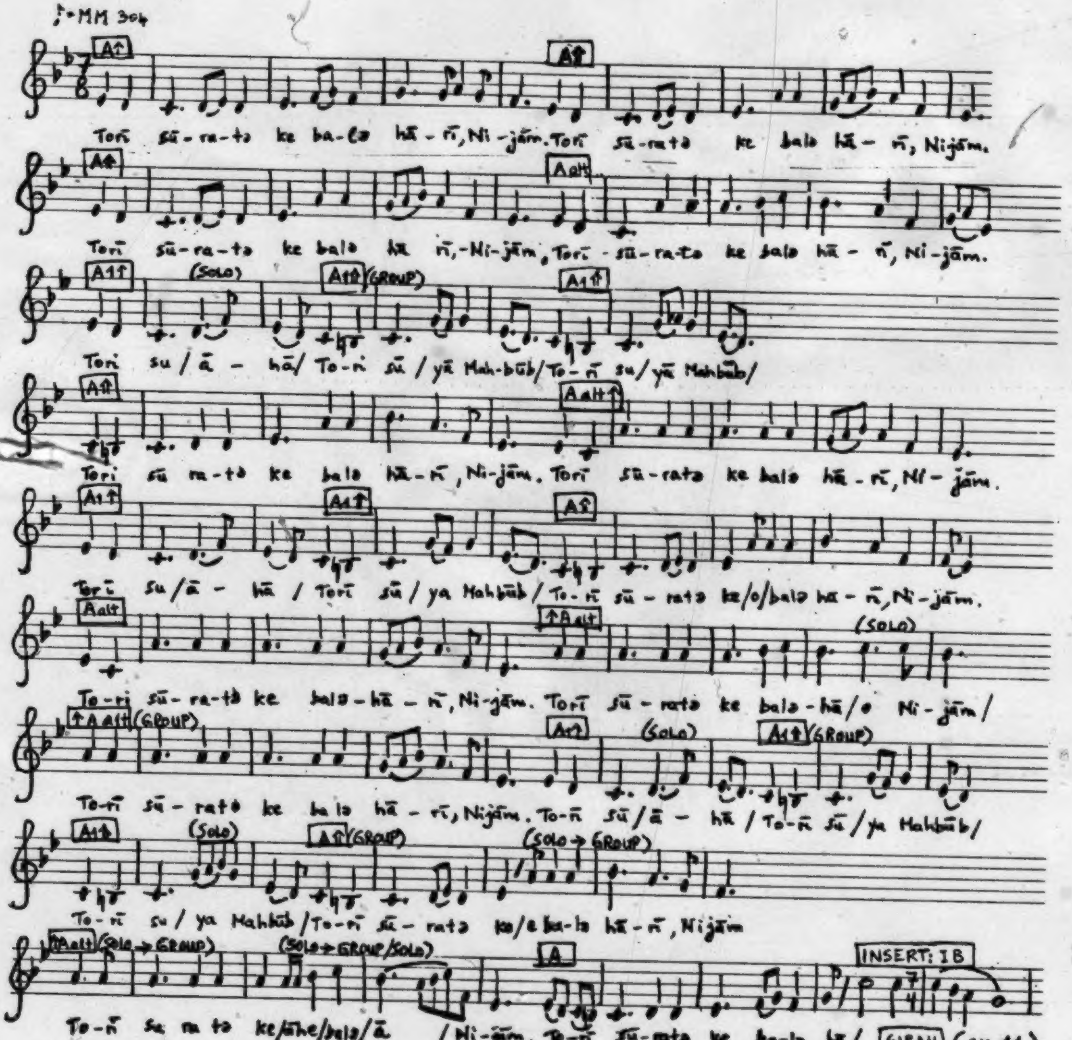
(1x) IA1 Decides to end song with the extra line inserted earlier, realizing its effective use in summarizing the message of the song.

(1x) IA2 Indicates the conclusion formally by slowing down the tempo, mindful of the fact that performance is being recorded

TORĪ SŪRAT KE BALHĀRĪ (ex. 3: 331 ff)

Performance 1 (Song 4:418-420)

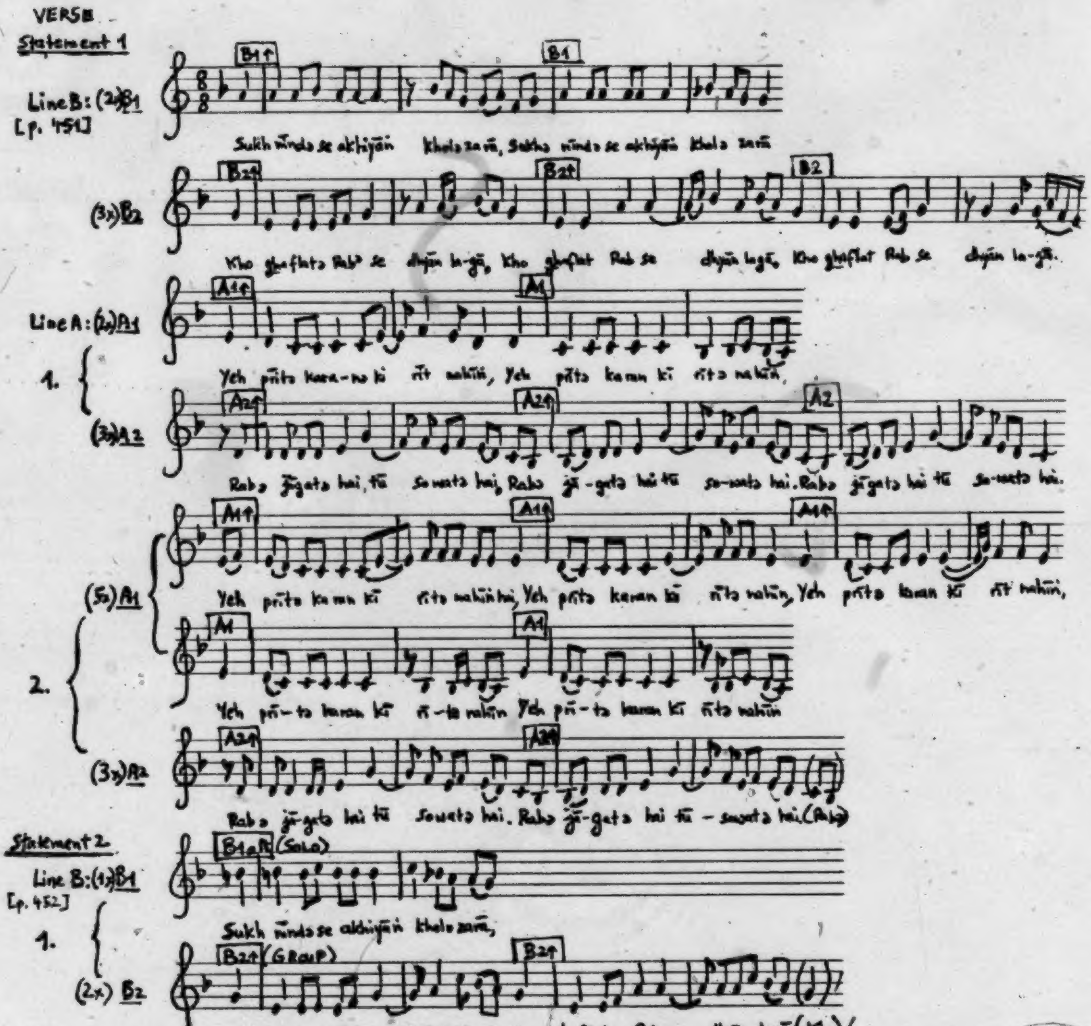
Opening Line


♪=MM 304
A↑
Torī sū-ra-tā ke ba-lā hā-rī, Ni-jām. Torī sū-ratā ke balā hā-rī, Nijām.
A↑
Aalt
Torī sū-ra-tā ke balā hā rī, -Ni-jām, Torī - sū-ra-tā ke balā hā-rī, Ni-jām.
A1↑
(SOLO)
A1↑ (GROUP)
A1↑
Torī su / ā - hā / To-rī sū / yā Mah-būb / To-rī su / yā Mahbūb /
A↑
Aalt↑
Torī sū ra-tā ke balā hā-rī, Ni-jām. Torī sū-ratā ke balā hā-rī, Ni-jām.
A1↑
A1↑
A↑
Torī su / ā - hā / Torī sū / ya Mahbūb / To-rī sū - ratā ke/o/balā hā - rī, Ni-jām.
Aalt
↑Aalt
(SOLO)
To-rī sū-ra-tā ke balā-hā - rī, Ni-jām. Torī sū - ratā ke balā-hā/o Ni-jām/
↑Aalt (GROUP)
A↑
(SOLO)
A1↑ (GROUP)
To-rī sū - ratā ke balā hā - rī, Nijām. To-rī sū/ā - hā / To-rī sū / ya Mahbūb /
A1↑
(SOLO)
A1↑ (GROUP)
(SOLO → GROUP)
To-rī su / ya Mahbūb / To-rī sū - ratā ke/e ba-lā hā - rī, Nijām
Aalt (SOLO → GROUP)
(SOLO → GROUP/SOLO)
A
INSERT: IB
To-rī sū ra tā ke/ahe/balā/ā / Ni-jām. To-rī sū-ratā ke ba-lā hā/ GIRAH (ex. 11)

KACHH JAGMAG JAGMAG HOWAT HAI (ex. 5: 341 ff)

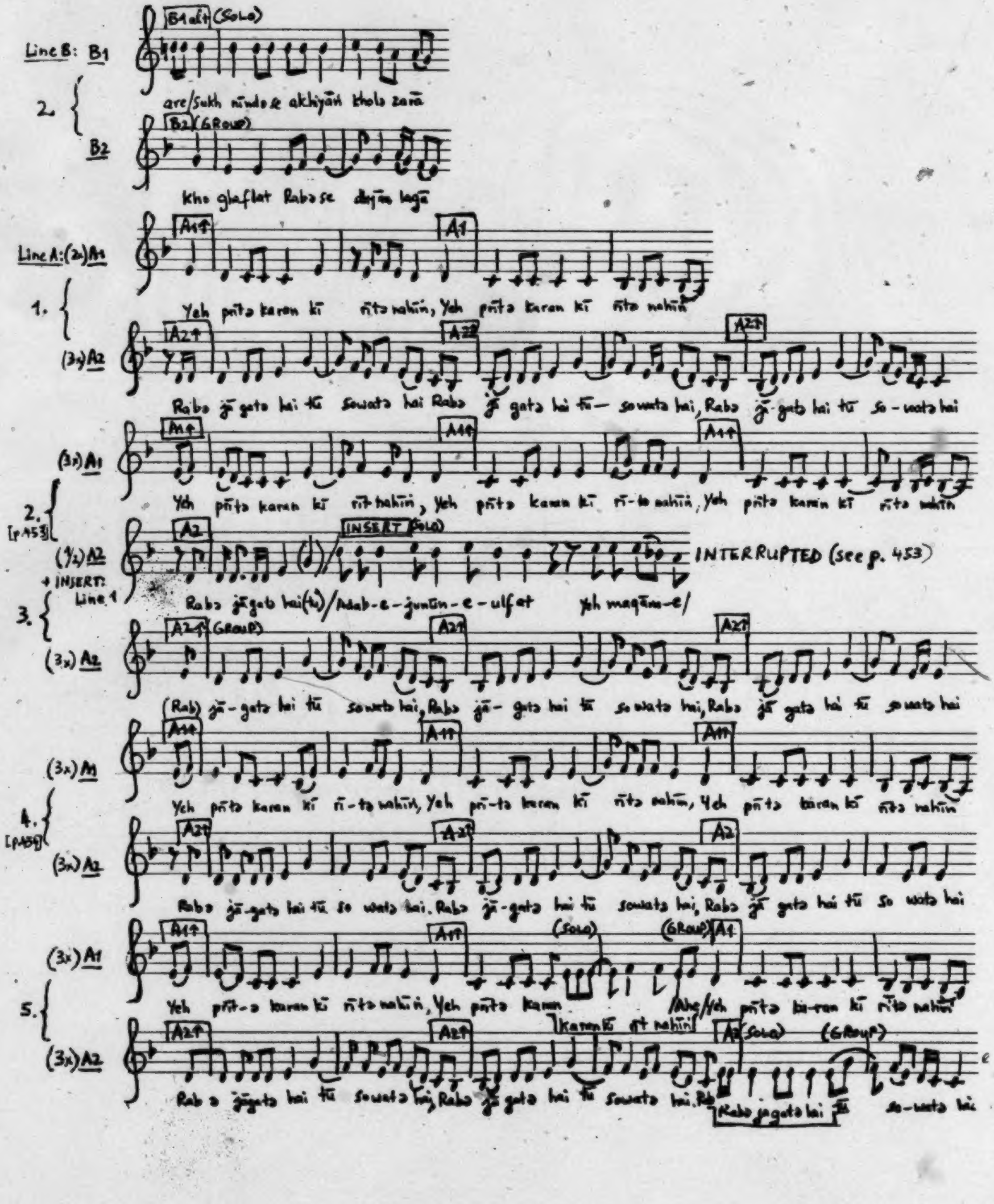
Performance 2 (Song 1: 451-453)

(Note melodic and rhythmic variability in performance)


VERSE
Statement 1
Line B: (2x) B1
[p. 451]
B1↑
B1
Sukh ninda se akhiyān khola zarā, Sukha ninda se akhiyān khola zarā
(3x) B2
B2↑
B2↑
B2
Kho ghaflata Rab se dhyān la-gā, Kho ghaflat Rab se dhyān lagā, Kho ghaflat Rab se dhyān la-gā.
Line A: (2x) A1
A1↑
A1
1.
Yeh prīta karan-na kī rīt nahīn, Yeh prīta karan kī rīta nahīn,
(3x) A2
A2↑
A2↑
A2
Raba jāgata hai, tū sovata hai, Raba jā-gata hai tū so-vata hai. Raba jāgata hai tū so-vata hai.
(5x) A1
A1↑
A1↑
A1↑
Yeh prīta karan kī rīta nahīn hai, Yeh prīta karan kī rīta nahīn, Yeh prīta karan kī rīt nahīn,
2.
A1
A1
Yeh prī-ta karan kī rī-ta nahīn Yeh prī-ta karan kī rīta nahīn
(3x) A2
A2↑
A2↑
Raba jā-gata hai tū sovata hai. Raba jā-gata hai tū - sovata hai. (Raba)
Statement 2
Line B: (1x) B1
[p. 452]
B1aR (Solo)
Sukh ninda se akhiyān khola zarā,
1.
(2x) B2
B2↑ (Group)
B2↑
Kho ghaflata Raba se dhyān lagā. Kho ghaflata Rab se dhyān lagā (Kho)/

KACHH JAGMAG JAGMAG HOWAT HAI (ex. 5: 286 ff)

Performance 2 (Song 1: 364-5)


Line B: B1
2.
B2
B1 alt (SOLO)
are/Sukh nindo se akhiyān kholo zarā
B2 (GROUP)
Kho glaflat Rabo se dhyān lagā
Line A: (2x) A1
1.
(3x) A2
A1↑
A1
Yeh prīto karan kī rīto nahīn, Yeh prīto karan kī rīto nahīn
A2↑
A2↕
A2↑
Rabo jā gato hai tū sowato hai Rabo jā gato hai tū— sowato hai, Rabo jā-gato hai tū so-wato hai
(3x) A1
2.
[p.453]
(½) A2
+ INSERT:
Line 1
A1↑
A1↑
A1↑
Yeh prīto karan kī rīt nahīn, Yeh prīto karan kī rī-to nahīn, Yeh prīto karan kī rīto nahīn
A2
INSERT (SOLO)
INTERRUPTED (see p. 453)
Rabo jāgato hai (tū)/Adab-e-junūn-e-ulfat yeh maqām-e/
3.
(3x) A2
A2↑ (GROUP)
A2↑
A2↑
(Rab) jā-gato hai tū sowato hai, Rabo jā- gato hai tū sowato hai, Rabo jā gato hai tū sowato hai
(3x) A1
4.
[p.453]
(3x) A2
A1↑
A1↑
A1↑
Yeh prīto karan kī rī-to nahīn, Yeh prī-to karan kī rīto nahīn, Yeh prīto karan kī rīto nahīn
A2↑
A2↑
A2
Rabo jā-gato hai tū so wato hai. Rabo jā-gato hai tū sowato hai, Rabo jā gato hai tū so wato hai
(3x) A1
5.
(3x) A2
A1↑
A1↑
(SOLO)
(GROUP) A1
Yeh prīt-o karan kī rīto nahīn, Yeh prīto karan
karan kī rīt nahīn
/Ahe/Yeh prīto ka-ran kī rīto nahīn
A2↑
A2↑
A2 (SOLO)
(GROUP)
Rab o jāgato hai tū sowato hai, Rabo jā gato hai tū sowato hai. Rab
Rabo jagato hai tū
so-wato hai

FOOTNOTES

1 In the sense of "concluding portion", but not implying finality as the term suggests in its standard application to Western music.

2 This required particular care on the part of the analyst not to evince too much familiarity with classical music, for to do so would invite the Qawwal informant to instantly adapt his musical knowledge into that formal framework.

3 The term Qawwali assembly is the English rendition of the two variant terms normally used by Sufis and educated laymen; one is the Farsi mahfil-e-qawwālī, the other the Urdu qawwālī kī mahfil. Colloquially, the term qawwālī is used, while in formal religious parlance the proper term is mahfil-e-sama' or simply sama' (see Ch. 5:79 ff).

4 A parallel idiom is darwesh aur ra'usā (darwesh, i.e. religious ascetic, derwish; ra'usa, plural of ra'is, i.e. person of of great status and wealth.

5 The one well-known exception of this was an unusual Qawwal whose personal religious interpretations in performance earned him the title Wāiz (preacher, religious interpreter), while to his name was added the epiteth Sufi--, Sufi Abdur Rahmān. Both title and epiteth indicate an exception confirming the rule.

6 Muslim Tombs are always orientedd toward the Kaaba: the body, lying on its back, has the face turned to the right, so as to face in the direction of Mekka. The tomb itself is aligned with the body; and the entrance opening is placed at the foot end. In India, then, all tombs open toward the south, and have a north-south orientation, usually with a mosque to their West.

7 This, at Nizamuddin Auliya and other shrines, appropriately gets to benefit the entire group of shrine performers, since they sing the first song collectively and all share equally in its "take".

8 How the performer deals with this requirement of takrār repetition is discussed below (p. 246 f), in conjunction with parallel musical procedures in the song proper which are being replicated here.

9 The double share for the leader is a relatively recent practice running counter to the traditional brādrī rule of equal shares, a development regretted but practised by all Nizamuddin Qawwals and by other hereditary Qawwali groups as well.

10 Lines 2-6 are composed of Farsi words and syllables forming part of a Sufi "vocabulary" of spiritual expression which has been out of use for some time and remains only partly intelligible today. The textual meaning of these lines is in no way emphasized in the

Qawwali usage of today. For a brief treatment of this Farsi vocabulary as used in the tarānā musical genre see Amir Khan 1966).

11 Urdu rather than Devanagari script is used purposely for the Hindi selections because they are part of an entirely Urdu-speaking and writing community which uses Persian rather than Devanagari script. All collections of Sufi poetry are in Persian script for all three languages (e.g. Naghmāt-e-Sama', n.d., Idrīs Khān 1973, Nizāmī, K. 1973a and Nizāmī, P. 1975).

12 Clothing covering a woman's head and chest, symbolizing the self which, in mystical devotion, becomes immersed in the Beloved (coloured by Him).

13 The spiritual guide of Nizamuddin Auliya, (see Table 12: 101).

14 The bride's hardship here symbolizes the Sufi's struggles of the world.

15 Qutab Sāhib is the spiritual guide of Farīd, also known as Ganj-e-Shakar (see Note 14 andd Table 12: 101); the wedding symbolizes spiritual union in which Khusrau, the poet, is represented as the bride and Nizamuddin Auliya as the groom.

16 In the performing traditions of certain Sufi silsilas (spiritual lineages) the Masnavī is always performed as a recitative, without any drumming (e.g. Kākorī in Eastern UP).

17 The festival of breaking the fast after Ramadan, starts on sighting the new moon.

18 e.g. the Urdu ghazal: us ne kahā hastī terī, maiṅ ne kahā jalwā terā.

19 A woman's head covering, used in Sufism to symbolize the link with the Beloved. This translation is no more than a simple rendition and in no way reflects the depth of associational meanings inherent in each of the verses. The last verse, for example, is based on a famous dohā of the 15th century mystical poet Kabir.

20 These are among the legendary qualities of Ali.

DATA

DATA COLLECTION

a) Recordings and Equipment

1. Audio Recordings: Uher 4000 Report L
   - 68 5" reel tapes, 1.5 mil., recorded at 3 3/4 i.p.s.
   - Collection labelled U-76-1 to U-76-68
2. Audio Recordings: Song CF 320
   - 33 cassette tapes
   - Collection labelled S-76-1 to S-76-33
3. Video Recordings: Sony Videocorder AV 3400
   - 28 video tapes, recorded at 7 1/2 i.p.s.
   - Collection labelled V-76-1 to V-76-28

b) Song Transcriptions

Music File

mf	Outline Transcriptions of all Qawwali Songs Recorded. Indexed according to language and alphabetically.

Text File

tf	Texts and Bibliographic References of Selected Qawwali Songs. Indexed according to language and alphabetically.

c) Translation Notebooks and Field Notes

1. Nizamuddin Auliya, Delhi

Merāj Ahmad

M-1 M-2 M-3	Talks and Lessons. Recorded in Delhi, 1975-6. 3 vols.

Gore Khān

G-1 G-2	Talks and Lessons. Recorded in Delhi, 1975-6. 2 vols.

Delhi Performers
DP Talks and Lessons with Performers at Nizamuddin Auliya. Recorded in Delhi, 1975-6.

Delhi Listeners
DL Talks and Interviews with Sufis and Devotees at Nizamuddin Auliya. Recorded in Delhi, 1975-6.

Delhi Urs Events
DU Log and Observations. Recorded at Nizamuddin Auliya 1975-6.

Delhi Qawwali Events
DQ Long and Observations. Recorded in Delhi, 1975-6.

2. Other Locations

Ajmer Qawwali (Muīnuddīn Chishtī Shrine)
AQ

Fatehpur Sikri Qawwali (Salīm Chishtī Shrine)
FQ

Hyderabad/Gulbarga Qawwali (Syed Muh. Gesūdarāz Shrine)
HQ

Karachi Qawwali (Yūsuf Shāh Shrine)
KQ

Lucknow/Kakori Qawwali (Shāh Mīnā and Shāh Qāzim Shrines)
LQ

Talks and Interviews with Sufis, Devotees and Performers; and Log and Observations of Performances. Recorded 1975-6.

FIELD DATA

	a) Qawwali Occasion	total	log & audio	video
1.	Events Observed and Recorded	56	42	14
	- Events at Nizamuddin Auliya	32	23	9
	- Outside Events with Nizamuddin Auliya Performers	9	9	-
	- Other Outside Events	14	8	6
2.	Nizamuddin Auliya Events by Category	32	23	9
	- Intimate, "Special" Occasion	11	6	5
	- Major, Celebrational Occasion	8	6	2
	- Major Ritual Occasion	6	4	2
	- Minor Ritual Occasion	7	7	-

	b) Qawwali Songs			
1.	Songs Recorded	483	376	107
	- in Context of Performance	433	306	107
	- Demonstrations, Elicited	50	50	-
2.	Songs Recorded in Context			
	- Number of Performances	433		
	- Number of Poems	261		
	- Number of Tunes	179		
3.	Songs Associated with Nizammudin Auliya	257		
	- Niz. A. Performers at Niz. A.	140		
	- Niz. A. Performers Elsewhere	30		
	- Outside Performers at Niz. A.	87		

	c) Qawwali Informants	encounters recorded	translation notebooks	total pages
1.	Talks/Lessons with Performers			
	- Merāj Ahmad	27	M-1,2,3	303
	- Gore K͟hān	20	G-1,2	174
	- Other Niz. A. Performers	12	DP	120
	- Outside Performers			
2.	Talks with Listeners	56		
	- Niz. A. Sufis	13	DL	103
	- Niz. A. Devotees	21	DL	
	- Other Sufis - with Niz. A.	17	AQ,KQ,HQ	119
	- Other Devotees - experience	6	HQ,KQ	20

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